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CHARLES W. ELIOT

THE MAN AND HIS BELIEFS

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posthumous publication

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CHARLES W. ELIOT

THE MAN AND HIS BELIEFS

EDITED WITH A
BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY
BY

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President of Smith College

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

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WAR AND PEACE

(continued)

AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE MUST SUPPORT AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL

THE hopes for a durable peace in Europe as an outcome of the present war are based on two suggestions which are not new, but have thus far never been taken into serious consideration by European statesmen and publicists. The first is the establishment of a Supreme Court of Europe to be used not only for the settlement of international disputes, but for inquiries into facts about a threatening dispute, and into the desires or claims of the disputants. So far as it was an investigating body, such a tribunal would have to be open on application to either party to a dispute which was active and partially formulated, but not yet brought to a crisis. Means would have to be invented of bringing the other party, though unwilling, into court, or of forcing the unwilling party publicly to decline the intervention of the court, either in writing, or by his acts. This court might sometimes act as arbitrator in a dispute, formulated and thoroughly argued by counsel on each side; but it would oftener act by applying to the facts of a fully-developed controversy the principles and precedents of international law through procedures which the court would gradually create case by case.

The experience of Europe since the First Hague

Conference proves conclusively that there are many causes of international controversy—and among these are the most dangerous of international aggressive tendencies—to which arbitration cannot be successfully applied; whence it follows that an arbitral tribunal will not satisfy the needs of Europe. In the industrial warfare now raging, the same inefficacy of arbitration has appeared. A judicial tribunal is imperatively needed to which either party to an acute controversy, not yet brought to a crisis, can bring his complaints or his fears.

The second suggestion which aims at durable peace in Europe has already been tried in imperfect ways, or on a small scale, but yet with results which are by no means discouraging. It is the maintenance of an international force subject to the orders of a Supreme Court of Europe and under the immediate direction of a high official, who stands to the Supreme Court in the relation of a sheriff or marshal, whose duty is to execute the orders of a court. A small but interesting experiment on the feasibility of an international army was tried when six Powers sent a combined force to deliver their Legations at Pekin from siege by the Boxers. In spite of different languages, religions and disciplines, this force did excellent service, accomplished its object, and was shortly dissolved without any serious untoward incident. Before the present war broke out, the English and French Governments made an agreement that the French navy should look after the Mediterranean, leaving the British navy freer to watch the seas around

Great Britain and Ireland and the eastern Atlantic. During the war, English and French fleets have cooperated in attacks on Turkey; and two German warships, officered and manned by Germans, make part of the Turkish navy. In the military operations on Belgian and French soil, the Belgian, English, and French armies have had no difficulty in maintaining effective coöperation, although the addition of troops coming from French and English colonies and affiliated dominions, and speaking a variety of languages, has complicated the problem. Americans still remember with satisfaction the cooperation between the French and the American troops at the siege of Yorktown. In the Crimean War, the armies of four different nations combined to attack Russia. These experiences prove that an international army could be made effective, if it were discharging a recognized duty, and were animated by a common spirit.

To manœuvre and fight an international fleet would probably prove more difficult than to manœuvre and fight an international army. Nevertheless, effective naval coöperation by a group of Powers which maintain strong navies cannot be said to be impossible. If mixed fleets proved too dangerous in bad weather at sea, the federated nations could divide the oceans among them, assigning to each national fleet its peculiar field. It must be remembered that wireless telegraphy has made it much easier than it used to be to manœuvre a squadron in all weathers, and to sweep the seas.

The pacifists habitually maintained before the outbreak of this war that permanent peace could be

brought about by the influence of the best public opinion of the world, without any use of force to prevent fighting. Since the war broke out at the beginning of August, as the inevitable result of causes which have been in action for many years, this opinion is held less confidently. Moreover, the unsupported force of public opinion has proved inadequate to prevent violations of various international agreements intended to mitigate the horrors of war. Nevertheless, there are pacifists who still maintain that no international armies or navies will be needed to enforce the decrees of a Supreme Court of Europe. They urge that non-intercourse would subdue any nation which should undertake to resist a decree of the Supreme Court. It seems obvious that to enforce an effectual blockade of all the frontiers of a nation which owned large territories, and possessed good means of communication on land and sea, would in itself require large military forces; but the pacifists affirm that non-intercourse could be made effective without force by the general consent of the citizens or subjects of the offending State. To most persons who have studied without prejudice or bias the actual state of the commercial world during the last five years, and particularly during the last five months, this hope or expectation of the pacifists does not seem reasonable.

Most publicists and statesmen believe that the decisions of courts and the acts of legislatures and international conferences must be supported in the future, as they always have been in the past, by adequate physical force. Moreover, they think they

see in recent events a demonstration that the maintenance of large forces—military or naval, or both —by each separate nation will not bring about, or protect, universal peace, but, on the contrary, tends inevitably to produce, in time, an outbreak of war more destructive than any previous generations have known. The establishment of an overwhelming international force, before which the forces of any single nation, however powerful, would find themselves overmatched, seems to prudent men, who try to base their reasoning about the future on past and present facts, the most promising method of protecting Europe from the recurrence of such a catastrophe as it is now experiencing.

1915

NATIONAL EFFICIENCY BEST DEVELOPED UNDER FREE GOVERNMENTS

THE causes of this fearful war are often discussed as if they were to be sought in the month before the war actually broke out. We hear men talking as if the exchange of telegrams and notes between the monarchs just before the war could supply an intelligent understanding of the causes of the outbreak. We hear the conversations between the various chancelleries of Europe in July spoken of as if the real cause of the war was to be found in them, or indeed, in the sequence of the orders given for mobilization. I have even read articles in which the cause of the war was found in the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne.

Now, to my mind, all these so-called causes are merely superficial events, which might more properly be called the occasions than the causes of the war. To my thinking, the causes of the war are very deep-seated, and have to be traced back through long years, and, indeed, through generations of men. They are states of mind rather than events. They have their sources in racial feelings and to some extent in religious differences; in the ambitions of princes; in long-cherished aspirations

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and ambitions of peoples; in continuously developed policies of governments; and deeper still in great popular emotions. If such are the real causes of the war, we need to consider carefully the historical development of these aspirations, ambitions, and emotions, which have had a national scope.

This war has brought out very strongly the sentiment of nationality,—a sentiment the origins and conditions of which are peculiarly difficult to appreciate and understand. Many people think that a common language is necessary to the development of the sentiment of nationality; but how many instances there are in the world in which many languages are used in the territory ascribed to a nation. At this moment there is no country which nourishes a stronger spirit of nationality than little Switzerland, the model republic of the world. Now, in that small territory four languages are used, each by thousands of people; and in the legislative assembly, if a member does not speak at the rostrum in French or in German, an interpreter is placed beside the orator who keeps along with him, so that the two voices are going at the same time. Belgium is a strong nationality as regards sentiment, but at least two quite different languages are spoken in that country. In the vast territory of China many dialects exist, so different that the people of one section may not understand the people of any other.

One almost wishes that a common language could be spoken of as a source or necessary condition of a strong sentiment of nationality; but there are too many cases in the world where a strong na-

tional feeling prevails, and yet there is no common language. We Americans have been in the habit of thinking that the use of the English language all over our immense territory has contributed to our sense of national unity and well-being; and, indeed, it probably has. Nevertheless, that test of nationality will not hold in the modern world.

The national sentiment in Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and Russia is to-day intense, and so far as we can see, it is equally intense in all these countries. Apparently little distinction can be drawn between national sentiment in an immobile empire like Russia, under an autocratic government like that of Germany, in a sober, experienced, constitutional monarchy like that of England, or in a new republic like France. We do not find the cause or source of this intense popular sentiment in the form of government to which the people are accustomed. And yet one cannot imagine any satisfactory settlement of this terrible world-conflict, which will not take more account than any settlement of a European war has ever done before, of this emotion or sentiment of nationality.

The experience of Europe during the last sixty years has been peculiar in one respect,—it has been a period in which peoples who possess a common language or a common sentiment of nationality, and are derived from similar racial stocks, have succeeded in getting together in larger entities. That has been emphatically the case with Germany and with Italy; and until the Second Balkan War the well-wishers for Europe hoped that it was go-

ing to be the case in the whole Balkan region; but that second war defeated all such hopes.

What tremendous changes have been wrought in Europe since the close of the Thirty Years' War! That war ended in the recognition and establishment of a large number of separate, independent, small states and principalities. When this present war ends, we may reasonably expect that it will result in the development of some new large states in Europe, federations perhaps, and some new small states, but also in a greater security for the smaller states over against the larger.

Several European nations have been infected at various times—England first, since the decline of Spain—with a false and dangerous conception of the state as an imperial being, independent of ordinary ethical considerations, entitled to the unquestioning obedience and service of its subjects, aiming at the development of strong types of men and women without much regard to the freedom or happiness of the individual, and claiming dominion over neighbors, oceans, or remote possessions in other parts of the world. British imperialism had sound commercial and industrial objects, and was qualified by much domestic freedom, and the policy of free trade. Being an island, Great Britain tried to rule the seas, in order that her indispensable supplies of food and raw materials might never be cut off. Her Continental imitators have not had her domestic freedom, her affiliated free commonwealths, her free trade, or her strong reason for possessing mastery of the oceans; but they have

had, and some of them still have, the imperialistic fever in its hottest form.

If, then, we must look for the causes of this unprecedented convulsion in these deep-rooted popular aspirations and ambitions, what shall we say about the slow but steady growth of these sentiments in Germany? There are those who ascribe this war to the German Emperor or cabinet, or to some particular German teachers and authors, or to the growth of a strong, united military caste in Germany. All these influences doubtless contributed in some measure to the outbreak; but the real cause of the successive military aggressions on the part of Germany since 1864 lies in the gradual prevalence throughout that nation, and particularly in its educated classes, of an exaggerated estimate of the bodily and spiritual merits of the German people, and of a firm belief that the national greatness and the progress of characteristic German civilization were to be attained through the development of the most tremendous national force that could possibly be contrived and brought into being, and through the gratification of the intense German desire for domination in Europe, and eventually in the world.

The government of Germany is the most autocratic in Europe. It has always been so in Prussia; and since German unification in 1871 that description applies to the whole of Germany. One of the most extraordinary phenomena in connection with this ferocious war is the unanimous opinion among German scholars, historians, statesmen, and diplomats, and indeed throughout the edu-

cated classes, that—as was lately said to me in a letter from a German friend—"We Germans are just as free as you Americans are." They really believe that. This unanimous opinion is a complete demonstration of the effect of the autocratic government which has long existed in Germany on the spirit and temper of the German people as a whole. They do not know what political and social liberty is. They have no conception of such liberty as we enjoy. They know nothing at all about the liberty that England has won through Parliamentary government, through party government. Their complete ignorance on that subject is the explanation of the fatal mistake that the German government made in going to war last summer before they knew what England was going to do, or could do. The German government thoroughly believed that in the existing condition of party government in England, with the Ulster disturbance unsettled, and with the trades-union difficulties on hand, England not only would not go to war, but could not. One could not have a better illustration of the complete ignorance of the German people as to what political and social liberty really is. The German diplomats misinformed their government about the state of Great Britain and Ireland, and of France, in spite of their ample system of resident informers, because neither they nor their informers understood the political action of a free people. And at this moment, the German government is being misinformed in the same manner about the state of American public opinion. To the German mind

political liberty means public incapacity and weakness—particularly in war.

In the earlier steps of the war, Germany met with a series of surprises, because the German government and the military caste in Germany did not understand what comparatively free peoples value, what their ideals are, and what they are capable of undertaking and enduring in defense of their ideals. For instance, the German doctrine about the justifiableness of violating a contract or a treaty on grounds of military necessity was universally accepted in Germany as right. Germans do not know how free peoples regard the sanctity of contract, not only for business purposes, but for political purposes, to say nothing of honorable obligation. Nothing could be more frank than the original explanation which the German Chancellor gave of the breaking of the treaties concerning the neutrality of Belgium; but his frankness is evidence that he did not understand in the least the freeman's idea of the sanctity of contract—the foundation of all public law and usage in a free country. In a country despotically or autocratically ruled, there is no such condition of public opinion.

More and more, as time goes on, this war develops into a conflict between free institutions and autocratic institutions. Of course, the position of Russia as an ally of France and England somewhat shrouds or complicates this fact; because the Russian people is by inheritance and in some respects by nature a people which submits to despotic government. Her exceptional position as an ally of two free countries is due to a long-nourished indig-

nation against Austria-Hungary and Germany for presenting obstacles year after year and generation after generation to the gratification of Russian ambition for aggrandizement in the Balkan countries and the Near East. That ambition and some stirrings toward liberty may have put Russia in its exceptional position by the side of two free countries.

If, now, we take it for granted that the question between free and autocratic institutions in Europe, the question of more public liberty, the question of civilization developing under the forms of free government rather than under the forms of autocratic government, is the real issue this war is to decide, it becomes a very interesting study for all the freer peoples how German efficiency is going to turn out in competition with such efficiency as the freer nations develop. The military result of the war is going to turn on the comparative efficiency of the military and naval forces of the opposing parties, and on the efficiency with which the economic resources of the several nations are used. Numbers are so enormous on each side that the result will not be determined so much by mere numbers, as by the efficiency of the armed forces of the combatants, and of their industrial and financial forces.

German efficiency has been an object of great admiration, not only in this country, but in England, France, and Russia, for twenty-five or thirty years. We have all admired it in the recent commercial and industrial development of Germany—not the less remarkable because it started about sixty years ago from a low level. We have admired it, too,

in the efficiency of her military and naval development. It is an extraordinary phenomenon in the history of the nineteenth century—this wonderful efficiency; but German efficiency is of a peculiar type. It is an efficiency in administration—in business administration, in municipal government strikingly, and in all the national government bureaus. It is an efficiency which takes hold of every child in Germany at birth, and follows every youth and every man and woman through life until death. It is that very efficiency which has prevented the last two generations of Germans from knowing anything about liberty. It is in the highest degree an autocratic efficiency in all walks of German life, including education and the relations between the sexes. The whole course of elementary and secondary education for every German boy or girl is determined by the government, and there is no election by the pupil included, no choice by the child, except in its later stages the choice between a technical school and a gymnasium; and even that choice is often made, not by the child, but for him.

A significant illustration of the German regard for strength and force, and contempt for weakness and gentleness, is to be found in the low estimate they place on the social and intellectual influence of women. A German woman at her best is a successful housewife and diligent attendant on husband and children; she is seldom the intellectual and spiritual comrade of her husband and the inspirer of her grown-up children, as a woman is in the freer countries of Europe and in America. The contrast between the status of the German woman

and that of the American woman is strong indeed. The German woman of to-day has grown up and lived in an atmosphere of compulsion and discipline which no American woman has had to endure for two centuries past.

The Germans are fond of mentioning their "academic freedom," the freedom of their learned men; but that is much exaggerated in German descriptions of their university life. The German universities are chiefly supported and ruled by the government; and there are no free endowed institutions to compete with them. The whole world is deeply indebted in unnumbered ways to the German universities of the last hundred years; but for any vital teaching of civil and religious liberty one must go back to individual German teachers and preachers of an earlier time. The entrance to every learned and scientific profession in Germany, and to the highly trained military and naval caste, is strictly guarded and controlled by the government.

German efficiency, however, is a very real and formidable thing in all the competitions of the civilized world; so that the most interesting question to be studied as to the probable outcome of the European War is this—is Germany with its autocracy more efficient or less efficient than France and England with their liberties? The German way of procuring industrial and commercial efficiency is to make each individual man, in the first place, a man well trained for the exact service he is to render, and then to keep him under a severe discipline which will result in his doing every time exactly what he has been trained to do. He may also be

induced in some measure to a perfect subordination by a bonus, prize, or honorary reward. That is the German method of efficiency all the way through industrial life—giving instruction and training enough to produce the amount of skill needed for the daily task, then enforcing that subjection of the worker which results in thorough coördination and coöperation in the complex process of production. The efficiency of their military system is obtained in like manner—by thorough training which leads to the instinctive coöperation of the individual with a mass of comrades, and to an absolute obedience unto death.

Now, what have the freer nations to say about their chance in industrial and military competition with the German autocratic system? They say in speech and action, "We believe a man or a nation will develop greater mental capacity and moral force with freedom than without it. Our philosophy of life teaches that doctrine; our history illustrates it; our practice and experience prove it."

To-day seven nations conspicuously illustrate the worth of liberty in national development: Great Britain and her affiliated commonwealths, France, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United States, and, in addition, the Scandinavian group of peoples. Italy struggled long under various oppressors. She won at last unity and freedom, because during the centuries she brought forth such independent spirits as Dante, Savonarola, Leonardo, Galileo, Michael Angelo, Cavour, and Garibaldi. The Dutch were pioneers in the long fight for liberty. Since Eliza-

beth's adventurers ran about the oceans, Cromwell marshaled his Independents, and Milton taught civil and religious liberty and freedom for the press, English political, industrial, and religious life has been instinct with liberty. The French political philosophers of the eighteenth century set forth eloquently the Rights of Man; and the French Revolution strove boldly, although ignorantly, to win those rights, and, in spite of its violences and crudities, spread through the world the potent conceptions of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The mutual jealousy of their neighbors has permitted Belgium and Switzerland to prosper in comparative freedom. The Pilgrim Fathers planted on American soil the seeds of the best English and Dutch liberties; and from those seeds there came, in three centuries, a solid growth of liberty under law,—the widest liberty, political, industrial, and social, that the world has ever known, conceived by free spirits, embodied in legislation, and cherished in the hearts of a multitudinous people. The Scandinavian peoples have suffered much from more powerful neighbors, but have never lost the adventurous spirit of the Norsemen, or failed to exercise that right of private judgment which was the best teaching of the Protestant Reformation, or ceased to manifest the sturdy, independent spirit of their race. The Scandinavian emigrants to America make admirable citizens of the American Republic without any change of disposition or character.

The efficiency of all these nations is based on a high degree of personal initiative and of political

and industrial freedom,—not on the subjection or implicit obedience of the individual, but on the energy and good will in work which result from individual freedom, ambition, and initiative.

If this doctrine is well founded, the remarkable increase of industrial and commercial efficiency during the past hundred and fifty years should have proceeded from the freer nations, and not from the nations governed autocratically. It is an interesting inquiry, therefore, whether this wonderfully increased efficiency has proceeded from Russia, Germany, Austria, and Turkey, or from England, France, Italy, Holland, Scandinavia, and the United States. A brief review of the sources of the important discoveries and inventions, which have made the industries of the civilized world vastly more effective since 1830 than they ever were before, will convince any impartial person that the means of improvement have come from the free countries, and not from the countries that are despotically governed.

Going back to the late years of the eighteenth century, we find that propulsion by steam on land and water was first made commercially successful by Englishmen and Americans; and that English and French chemists made the fundamental discoveries in chemical theory. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the development of the factory system with steam-driven machinery was an English achievement, and later an American. As we come further on in the nineteenth century, we find that it was Americans who developed the telegraph and telephone as industrial implements, and

thereby changed in large measure the habits of industrial, commercial, and financial life, and in many respects of domestic and family life also. It was an Italian who invented and introduced in practice wireless telegraphy,—a delightful instance of the transmission of a genius for physics in the same nation through centuries. It was Americans who invented and made commercially practical the electric light and the wide diffusion of mechanical power by electricity. The explosive engine was developed as an industrial agent in France; and the gasoline motor and the automobile have been French, English, and American developments. The aëroplane heavier than air was invented by Professor Langley, when Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and was developed for practical use by two other Americans—the brothers Wright. The cotton gin, on which the whole cotton textile industry is founded, was the invention of an American, as were also the sewing machine, the typewriter, and all sorts of shoe-machinery. So was the job printing-press with the type held, not on a horizontal plane, but at any convenient angle with the paper to be printed—an invention out of which came the rotary press, which is to-day an indispensable instrument for the quick and wide circulation of news. It was America that built the first monitor and the first submarine; and it was England that built the first dreadnought.

Turning to a totally different field of discovery, anæsthesia was an American invention; and its wide usefulness was first demonstrated in an American hospital. Asepsis, a discovery of equal value, was

introduced by Lister, a British subject. Another Englishman invented and brought into use inoculation against typhoid fever. It was American surgeons and members of the Army Medical Corps, temporarily serving in Cuba, who showed the world how to prevent the spread of yellow fever.

The immense world-wide rubber industry is based on the invention of the American Goodyear, who discovered that the mixture of sulphur and rubber produced an elastic, waterproof material, capable of innumerable useful applications for which pure rubber was not fit.

The great inventions in business organization have, of course, proceeded from the freer countries, and not from those despotically governed,—such, for example, as the organization of the ocean liners running to all parts of the world, which is in the main an English invention. The organization of the great business of taking petroleum out of the earth, piping the oil over great distances, distilling and refining it, and distributing it in tank steamers, tank wagons, and cans all over the earth, was an American invention. The conception of the huge and complex organization of the United States Steel Corporation, and the putting of that conception into practice, is another American achievement of great significance. The invention of the corporation with limited liability, which has led to an immense development of industrial and commercial productiveness, is English and American; and this management of industries by corporations set up in free governments has, in turn, become a great reinforcement of free institutions.

Obviously, we are not tracing here the results of blind chance, or of any sort of coincidence or accident. We are recognizing the legitimate fruits of liberty. It is, of course, true that Germany has adopted, adapted, and used with great skill all the inventions that have been mentioned, and especially in organizing and using her army and navy. She has also used them all in the remarkable development of her industries during the past fifty years; but she invented and brought into use none of them; nor did Russia, Austria, or Turkey. Most of the inventions mentioned are indispensable to the carrying on of the present war in Europe; and many of them were indispensable to the preparations for that war, carried on through long years before; but all of them, except the distinctly naval inventions, were made for peaceful uses—to promote the industrial productiveness and the well-being of the human race.

It is an interesting observation that universal education, to the lower grades of which all children are compelled, seems to have but slight effect on the kind of national efficiency here considered. For one hundred years past, systematic education for the whole people has been better planned and carried on in Germany than it has been in any of the freer countries. Large portions of the Italian population have had no access to schools until lately. England had nothing that could be called a system of popular education until 1870-71; France began to put universal education in force under the present Republic; and to this day millions of American children have but scant access to elementary edu-

cation, and none at all to secondary. The plain fact is that the German system of education and government has not had freedom enough in it; and that the free peoples, among whom there exists a large amount of social and industrial mobility, are the peoples who have produced all the great applied-science inventions of the last century and this.

The facts of the case are unquestionable. The explanation of them is,—that under free governments, and in communities which have a fair amount of social mobility, the rare men are surer to come forward into vigorous action,—the men who are competent, not only to invent or imagine the thing or the method that is next wanted, but to put their inventions into practical form, and to make them useful in the actual industries of their nations and the world. Among a free people the remarkable human specimen is more likely to get his most complete and powerful development than among a people subject to autocratic government.

We may reasonably believe, therefore, that there is a power in free institutions which leads straight to efficiency in the industries of the country, and, in the long run and after many experiments and failures, to the efficient management of its governmental concerns, and that this efficiency can be brought to a higher condition in a republic or a constitutional monarchy than in any despotic or autocratic government.

There is another field of human activity,—the development of great pioneers in thinking and imagining,—in which the Germans are accustomed

to claim the leadership; but that claim is without warrant. In the first place, German literature and philosophy are, like German industrial development, comparatively young. That they should become preëminent so soon is not to be expected. In the next place, the German race has not yet developed leaders of thought in literature, philosophy, poetry, and statesmanship who can bear comparison with the supreme personages in England, France, and Italy. Germany has produced no men who can be placed beside Dante, Michael Angelo, and Cavour in Italy; Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, Faraday, and Darwin in England, or Pasteur in France. And as to America, it seems to a native American profane to mention Bismarck and the present German Emperor in the same breath with Washington and Lincoln.

The present war in Europe is going to put to a supreme military test this theory concerning the surest sources of national efficiency. The war ought to demonstrate in the end that German efficiency in war is not so great as that of England and France, if we include in the definition of military efficiency the management of the supporting industries, and skill in summoning and applying financial resources, as well as the management of the troops in actual fighting. The war should demonstrate that a volunteer soldier is, on the whole, more effective than a conscript, because he has more personal initiative, more power of independent action, and more sense of individual responsibility. The first year of the war ought to prove that large and effective armies can be put into the field after a training of only a

few months, if the volunteer recruits come from occupations which call for intelligence and coöperative good will, and are inspired by ethical motives which strongly appeal to them as individuals. The war ought also to prove that the freer a people are, and the more accustomed to the exercise of self-controlled liberty, the more warmly and resolutely they will respond to calls on their courage, endurance, and love of country.

The only issue of the war that can possibly be satisfactory to the freer nations of Europe, or to Americans, is an issue which will further in Europe the cause of essential freedom—the freedom which can be developed under any constitutional form of government, but cannot be developed under an autocratic form. Therefore, we look forward with hope to a diminution in Europe of the autocratic forms and an increase of the constitutional forms, as well as to better security for both large and small states against sudden invasion. This better security implies a federal council of a few powerful states, the reduction of national armaments, and the creation of a federal force competent to impose peace.

A precious lesson of the war will be this:—

Toward every kind of national efficiency discipline is good, and coöperation is good; but for the highest efficiency both should be consented to in liberty.

1915

HOW CAN AMERICA BEST CONTRIBUTE TOWARD CONSTRUCTIVE AND DURABLE PEACE?

In accordance with your request, I send you a brief answer to the question "How Can America Best Contribute toward Constructive and Durable Peace?"

1. The United States can teach by precept and example that no nation should endeavor to establish by aggressive war dominion over any other state large or small. It has already twice abstained under trying circumstances from adding to its territory by conquest, once in Cuba, and once in Mexico, and is entitled to assert steadily that aggressive war is not an available means, in the present state of the world, of settling international disputes, or of extending national power.

2. The United States, as an original advocate of the doctrine of exemption from capture of private property at sea, may now properly maintain that all seas, and all canals or channels connecting great seas, should be free to the commerce of the world, and that this freedom should be placed under international guaranties.

3. The United States should urge for general acceptance John Hay's policy of the "open door"

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as the best means of promoting the trade of all manufacturing peoples—Occidental or Oriental.

4. The United States has no desire to hold colonial possessions by force, or to govern peoples in any part of the world, and can, therefore, contend and hope for the general recognition of the principle that the only enlargements of national territory worth having are those brought about by consent and with good will and, therefore, likely to become bound to the central or parent state by the sense of mutual service and advantage.

5. The United States has advocated arbitration as a means of settling international disputes, and has itself resorted in numerous cases to the method of arbitration as a means of settling its own disputes with other nations. Recent events, however, seem to prove beyond question that the major cases of international strife are matters which do not permit of either arbitration or conciliation, because they originate in racial or religious differences, hot commercial competitions, or other popular emotions and passions. The court contemplated in the Hague Conferences has always been of an arbitral nature, suited for composing disputes on minor points which permitted of compromise. The United States should hereafter use all its influence toward the creation of an International Council capable of securing a permanent peace, and created by fresh international treaties.

6. Since such a Council would be ineffective unless supported by an international force, the United States ought to prepare to furnish its full quota, in proportion to its population and its wealth, of the

international naval force competent to prevent any interference with the freedom of the seas. This quota should be of the highest possible efficiency as regards types of vessels, ordnance, munitions, and skill of officers and men.

7. The United States should use all its influence in international discussion to substitute frankness and honesty in negotiations, amity, mutual forbearance, coöperation, and stable international peace in place of secret and cheating diplomacy, enmity, domination of the strong over the weak, injustice, and recurrent war.

8. When a Supreme International Council or Tribunal has been established, the United States can urge consistently with its own practice that national armaments should be reduced, and that the practice of fortifying frontiers and cities should be abandoned.

1915

THE CONDUCT OF LIFE

THE HAPPY LIFE

Advice to youth on rational and responsible living. There are new obstacles, but they can be overcome.

My subject is, "The Happy Life." I address here especially young people who have passed the period of childhood, with its unreflecting gaiety, passing shadows, gusty griefs, and brief despairs, and have entered, under conditions of singular privilege, upon rational and responsible living. For you, happiness must be conscious, considerate, and consistent with habits of observing, reading, and reflecting. Now reflecting has always been a grave business.

> "Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
> And leaden-eyed despairs,"

and it must be confessed that our times present some new obstacles to a life of considerate happiness for people who observe and read. A few generations ago the misery of the many did not much mar the happiness of the few; for wide diversities of human condition seemed natural not artificial, and fellow-feeling was comparatively undeveloped. Until this century the masses of mankind were almost dumb; but now their moans and complaints have become audible through telephone, telegraph,

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and rotary press. The millions are now saying what the moody poets have always said:

"The flower that smiles to-day
To-morrow dies.
All that we wish to stay
Tempts, and then flies.
What is this world's delight?
Lightning that mocks the night,
Brief even as bright."

The gloomy moralist is still repeating, "I have seen all the works that are done under the sun, and behold! all is vanity and vexation of spirit."

The manual laborers of to-day, who are much better off than the same classes of laborers have been in any earlier times, are saying just what Shelley said to the men of England in 1819:

"The seed ye sow another reaps,
The wealth ye find another keeps,
The robes ye weave another wears,
The arms ye forge another bears."

They would adopt without change the words in which that eminent moralist, Robinson Crusoe, a century earlier, described the condition of the laboring classes: "The men of labor spent their strength in daily struggling for bread to maintain the vital strength they labored with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread."

Matthew Arnold calls his love to come to the window and listen to the "melancholy, long-with-

drawing roar" of the sea upon the moonlit beach at Dover; and these are his dismal words to her:

"Ah, love, let us be true
To one another! for the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain,
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night."

The poets are by no means the only offenders; the novelists and scientists take their turn. The fiction of this century deals much with the lives of the wretched, dissolute, and vicious, and with the most unjust and disastrous conditions of modern society.

A fresh difficulty in the way of natural happiness is the highly speculative opinion lately put forward by men of science and promptly popularized, to the effect that external nature offsets every good with an evil, and that the visible universe is unmoral, or indifferent as regards right and wrong, revealing no high purpose or intelligent trend. This is indeed a melancholy notion, but that it should find acceptance at this day, and really make people miserable, only illustrates the curious liability of the human intelligence to sudden collapse. The great solid conviction, which science within the past three centuries has enabled thinking men and women to settle down on, is that all discovered and systematized knowledge is as nothing compared with the undiscovered, and that a boundless uni-

verse of unimagined facts and forces interpenetrates and encompasses what seems the universe to us. In spite of this impregnable conviction, people distress themselves because, forsooth, they cannot discern the moral purpose, or complete spiritual intent, of this dimly seen, fractional universe which is all we know. Why should they discern it?

It is, then, in spite of many old and some new discouragements that we are all seeking the happy life. We know that education spreads, knowledge grows, and public liberty develops; but can we be sure that public and private happiness increases? What the means and sources of happiness are in this actual world, with our present surroundings, and with no reference to joys or sorrows in any other world, is a natural, timely, and wholesome inquiry. We may be sure that one principle will hold throughout the whole pursuit of considerate happiness—the principle that the best way to secure future happiness is to be as happy as is rightfully possible to-day. To secure any desirable capacity for the future, near or remote, cultivate it to-day. What is the use of immortality for a person who cannot use well half an hour? asks Emerson.

In trying to enumerate the positive satisfactions which an average man may reasonably expect to enjoy in this world, I, of course, take no account of those too common objects of human pursuit, wealth, power, and fame; first, because they do not, as a rule, contribute to happiness; and secondly, because they are unattainable by mankind in general. I invite you to consider only those means of happiness which the humble and obscure millions may

possess. The rich and famous are too few to affect appreciably the sum of human happiness. I begin with the satisfactions of sense.

Sensuous pleasures, like eating and drinking, are sometimes described as animal, and therefore unworthy. It must be confessed, however, that men are, in this life, animals all through,—whatever else they may be,—and that they have a right to enjoy without reproach those pleasures of animal existence which maintain health, strength, and life itself. Familiar ascetic and pessimistic dogmas to the contrary notwithstanding, these pleasures, taken naturally and in moderation, are all pure, honorable, and wholesome. Moreover, all attempts to draw a line between bodily satisfactions on the one hand, and mental or spiritual satisfactions on the other, and to distinguish the first as beastly indulgences and the second as the only pleasures worthy of a rational being, have failed and must fail; for it is manifestly impossible to draw a sharp line of division between pleasures, and to say that these are bodily, and those are intellectual or moral. Are the pleasures of sight and hearing bodily or mental? Is delight in harmony, or in color, a pleasure of the sense, or of the imagination? What sort of a joy is a thing of beauty? Is it an animal or a spiritual joy? Is the delight of a mother in fondling her smiling baby a physical or a moral delight? But though we cannot divide pleasures into animal and moral, unworthy and worthy, we can nevertheless divide them into lower and higher pleasures; the lower those which, like eating and drinking, prompt to the maintenance and reproduction of

life, and which can be impaired or destroyed by prolongation or repetition; the higher those which, like the pleasures of the eye or ear, seem to be ends in themselves; in the lower there can be destructive excess, in the higher excess is impossible.

Recognizing then that there are higher pleasures than eating and drinking, let us clearly perceive that three meals a day all one's life not only give in themselves a constantly renewed innocent satisfaction, but provide the necessary foundation for all other satisfactions. Taking food and drink is a great enjoyment for healthy people, and those who do not enjoy eating seldom have much capacity for enjoyment or usefulness of any sort. Under ordinary circumstances it is by no means a purely bodily pleasure. We do not eat alone, but in families, or sets of friends and comrades, and the table is the best center of friendships and of the domestic affections. When, therefore, a workingman says that he has worked all his life to procure a subsistence for himself and his family, he states that he has secured some fundamental satisfactions, namely, food, productive employment, and family life. The satisfaction of eating is so completely a matter of appetite that such distinction as there is between the luxurious and the hardy in regard to this enjoyment is altogether in favor of the hardy. Who does not remember some rough and perhaps scanty meal in camp, or on the march, or at sea, or in the woods, which was infinitely more delicious than the most luxurious dinner during indoor or sedentary life? But that appetite depends on health. Take good care, then, of your

teeth and your stomachs, and be ashamed, not of enjoying your food, but of not enjoying it. There was a good deal of sound human nature in the unexpected reply of the dying old woman to her minister's leading question: "Here at the end of a long life, which of the Lord's mercies are you most thankful for?" Her eye brightened as she answered, after a moment's consideration: "My victuals."

Let us count next pleasures through the eye. Unlike the other senses, the eye is always at work except when we sleep, and may consequently be the vehicle of far more enjoyment than any other organ of sense. It has given our race its ideas of infinity, symmetry, grace, and splendor; it is a chief source of childhood's joys, and throughout life the guide to almost all pleasurable activities. The pleasure it gives us, however, depends largely upon the amount of attention we pay to the pictures which it incessantly sets before the brain. Two men walk along the same road—one notices the blue depths of the sky, the floating clouds, the opening leaves upon the trees, the green grass, the yellow buttercups, and the far stretch of the open fields—the other has precisely the same pictures on his retina, but pays no attention to them. One sees, and the other does not see; one enjoys an unspeakable pleasure, and the other loses that pleasure which is as free to him as the air. The beauties which the eye reveals are infinitely various in quality and scale; one mind prefers the minute, another the vast; one the delicate and tender, another the coarse and rough; one the inanimate

things, another the animate creation. The whole outward world is the kingdom of the observant eye. He who enters into any part of that kingdom to possess it has a store of pure enjoyment in life which is literally inexhaustible and immeasurable. His eyes alone will give him a life worth living.

Next comes the ear as a minister of enjoyment, but next at a great interval. The average man probably does not recognize that he gets much pleasure through hearing. He thinks that his ears are to him chiefly a convenient means of human intercourse. But let him experience a temporary deafness, and he will learn that many a keen delight came to him through the ear. He will miss the beloved voice, the merry laugh, the hum of the city, the distant chime, the song of birds, the running brook, the breeze in the trees, the lapping wavelets, and the thundering beach; and he will learn that familiar sounds have been to him sources of pure delight—an important element in his well-being. Old Izaak Walton found in the lovely sounds of earth a hint of heaven—

> How joyed my heart in the rich melodies
> That overhead and round me did arise!
> The moving leaves—the water's gentle flow—
> Delicious music hung on every bough.
> Then said I in my heart, If that the Lord
> Such lovely music on the earth accord;
> If to weak, sinful man such sounds are given,
> Oh! what must be the melody of Heaven!

A high degree of that fine pleasure which music gives is not within the reach of all; yet there are

few to whom the pleasure is wholly denied. To take part in producing harmony, as in part-singing, gives the singers an intense pleasure which is, doubtless, partly physical and partly mental. I am told that to play good music at sight, as one of several performers playing different instruments, is as keen a sensuous and intellectual enjoyment as the world affords. These pleasures through the eye and ear are open in civilized society to all who have the will to seek them, and the intelligence to cultivate the faculties through which they are enjoyed. They are quite as likely to bless him who works with hand or brain all day for a living, as him who lives inactive on his own savings or on those of other people. The outward world yields them spontaneously to every healthy body and alert mind; but the active mind is as essential to the winning of them as the sound body.

There is one great field of knowledge, too much neglected in our schools and colleges, which offers to the student endless pleasures and occupations through the trained and quickened senses of sight, hearing, and touch—I mean the wide field called natural history, which comprehends geography, meteorology, botany, zoölogy, mineralogy, and geology. Charles Darwin, the greatest naturalist of this century, said that with natural history and the domestic affections a man might be truly happy. Not long ago I was urging a young naturalist of twenty-six to spend the next summer in Europe. He thought it was hardly right for him to allow himself that indulgence; and when I urged that the journey would be very enjoyable as well as profit-

able, he replied, "Yes, but you know I can be happy anywhere in the months when things are growing." He meant that the pleasures of observation were enough for him, when he could be out of doors. That young man was poor, delicate in health, and of a retiring and diffident disposition, yet life was full of keenest interest to him.

Our century is distinguished by an ardent return of civilized man to that love of nature from which books and urban life had temporarily diverted him. The poetry and the science of our times alike foster this love, and add to the delights which come to lovers of Nature through the senses the delights of the soaring imagination and the far-reaching reason. In many of our mental moods the contemplation of Nature brings peace and joy. Her patient ways shame hasty little man; her vastnesses calm and elevate his troubled mind; her terrors fill him with awe; her inexplicable and infinite beauties with delight. Her equal care for the least things and the greatest corrects his scale of values. He cannot but believe that the vast material frame of things is informed and directed by an infinite Intelligence and Will, just as his little animal body is informed by his own conscious mind and will.

It is apparent from what I have said of pleasures through the eye and ear, and from contact with nature, that a good measure of out-of-door life is desirable for him who would secure the elements of a happy life. The urban tendency of our population militates against free access to out-of-door delights. The farmer works all day in the fields, and his children wander at will in the open air;

the sailor can see at any moment the whole hemisphere of the heavens and the broad plain of the sea; but the city resident may not see a tree or a shrub for weeks together, and can barely discern a narrow strip of sky, as he walks at the bottom of the deep ditches we call streets. The wise man, whose work is in the city and in-doors at that, will take every possible opportunity to escape into the fresh air and the open country. Certain good tendencies in this respect have appeared within recent years. Hundreds of thousands of people, who must work daily in compact cities, now live in open suburbs; cities provide parks and decorated avenues of approach to parks; out-of-door sports and exercises become popular; safe country boarding-schools for city children are multiplied; and public holidays and half-holidays increase in number. These are appreciable compensations for the disadvantages of city life. The urban population which really utilizes these facilities may win a keener enjoyment from nature than the rural population, to whom natural beauty is at every moment accessible. The cultivation of mind and the increased sensibility which city life develops heighten the delight in natural beauty. Moreover, though man destroys much natural loveliness in occupying any territory for purposes of residence or business, he also creates much loveliness of grassy fields and banks, mirroring waters, perfectly developed trees, graceful shrubs, and brilliant flowers. In these days no intelligent city population need lack the means and opportunities of frequent out-of-door enjoyment. Our climate is indeed rough and changeable, but

on the whole produces scenes of much more various beauty than any monotonous climate; while against the occasional severity of our weather artificial protection is more and more provided. What we may wisely ask of our tailors and our landscape architects is protection in the open air from the extremes of heat, cold, and wind. The provision of an equable climate in-doors is by no means sufficient to secure either the health or the happiness of the people.

From the love of nature we turn to family love. The domestic affections are the principal source of human happiness and well-being. The mutual loves of husband and wife, of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, are not only the chief sources of happiness, but the chief springs of action, and the chief safeguards from evil. The young man and the young woman work and save in order that they may be married and have a home of their own; once married, they work and save that they may bring up well a family. The supreme object of the struggling and striving of most men is the family. One might almost say that the security and elevation of the family and of family life are the prime objects of civilization, and the ultimate ends of all industry and trade. In respect to this principal source of happiness, the young mechanic, operative, clerk, or laborer is generally better off than the young professional man, inasmuch as he can marry earlier. He goes from the parental roof to his own roof with only a short interval, if any, between. The workingman is often a grandfather before he is fifty years old; the pro-

fessional man but seldom. Love before marriage, being the most attractive theme of poetry and fiction, gets a very disproportionate amount of attention in literature, as compared with the domestic affections after marriage.

Concerning these normal domestic joys, any discerning person who has experienced them, and has been intimate with four or five generations, will be likely to make three observations: In the first place, the realization of the natural and legitimate enjoyments in domestic life depends upon the possession of physical and moral health. Whatever impairs bodily vigor, animal spirits, and good temper, lessens the chance of attaining the natural, domestic joys—joys which by themselves, without any additions whatever except food and steady work, make earthly life worth living. In the second place, they endure, and increase with lapse of years; the satisfactions of normal married life do not decline, but mount. Children are more and more interesting as they grow older; at all stages, from babyhood to manhood and womanhood they are to be daily enjoyed. People who think they shall enjoy their children to-morrow, or year after next, will never enjoy them. The greatest pleasure in them comes late; for as Hamerton mentions in his "Human Intercourse," the most exquisite satisfaction of the parent is to come to respect and admire the powers and character of the child. Thirdly, the family affections and joys are the ultimate source of civilized man's idea of a loving God —an idea which is a deep root of happiness when it becomes an abiding conviction. They have sup-

plied all the conceptions of which this idea is the supreme essence, or infinite product. It deserves mention here, that these supreme enjoyments of the normal, natural life—the domestic joys—are woman's more than man's; because his function of bread-winning necessarily separates him from his home during a good part of his time, particularly since domestic or house industries have been superseded by factory methods.

I turn now to the satisfaction which comes from physical exertion, including brain-work. Everybody knows some form of activity which gives him satisfaction. Perhaps it is riding on a horse, or rowing a boat, or tramping all day through woods or along beaches with a gun on the shoulder, or climbing a mountain, or massing into a ball or bloom a paste of sticky iron in a puddling-furnace (that heaviest of labor), or wrestling with the handles of the plunging, staggering plough, or tugging at a boat's tiller when the breeze is fresh, or getting in hay before the shower. There is real pleasure and exhilaration in bodily exertion, particularly with companionship (of men or animals) and competition. There is pleasure in the exertion even when it is pushed to the point of fatigue, as many a sportsman knows, and this pleasure is, in good measure, independent of the attainment of any practical end. There is pleasure in mere struggle, so it be not hopeless, and in overcoming resistance, obstacles, and hardships. When to the pleasure of exertion is added the satisfaction of producing a new value, and the further satisfaction of earning a livelihood through that new value, we

have the common pleasurable conditions of productive labor. Every working man who is worth his salt (I care not whether he works with his hands and brains, or with his brains alone) takes satisfaction first in the working; secondly, in the product of his work; and thirdly, in what that product yields to him. The carpenter who takes no pleasure in the mantel he has made, the farm-laborer who does not care for the crops he has cultivated, the weaver who takes no pride in the cloth he has woven, the engineer who takes no interest in the working of the engine he directs, is a monstrosity. It is an objection to many forms of intellectual labor that their immediate product is intangible and often imperceptible. The fruit of mental labor is often diffused, remote, or subtile. It eludes measurement, and even observation. On the other hand, mental labor is more enjoyable than manual labor in the process. The essence of the joy lies in the doing, rather than in the result of the doing. There is a life-long and solid satisfaction in any productive labor, manual or mental, which is not pushed beyond the limit of strength. The difference between the various occupations of man in respect to yielding this satisfaction is much less than people suppose; for occupations become habitual in time, and the daily work in every calling gets to be so familiar that it may fairly be called monotonous. My occupation, for instance, offers, I believe, more variety than that of most professional men; yet I should say that nine tenths of my work, from day to day, was routine work, presenting no more novelty, or fresh interest, to me than the work of a

carpenter or blacksmith who is always making new things on old types presents to him. The Oriental, hot-climate figment that labor is a curse is contradicted by the experience of all the progressive nations. The Teutonic stock owes everything that is great and inspiring in its destiny to its faculty of overcoming difficulties by hard work, and of taking heartfelt satisfaction in this victorious work. It is not the dawdlers and triflers who find life worth living; it is the steady, strenuous, robust workers.

Once, when I was talking with Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes about the best pleasures in life, he mentioned, as one of the most precious, frequent contact with quick and well-stored minds in large variety; he valued highly the number, frequency, and variety of quickening, intellectual encounters. We were thinking of contact in conversation; but this pleasure, if only to be procured by personal meetings, would obviously be within the reach, as a rule, of only a very limited number of persons. Fortunately for us and for posterity, the cheap printing-press has put within easy reach of every man who can read, all the best minds both of the past and the present. For one tenth part of a year's wages a young mechanic can buy, before he marries, a library of famous books which, if he masters it, will make him a well-read man. For half-a-day's wages a clerk can provide himself with a weekly paper which will keep him informed for a year of all important current events. Public libraries, circulating libraries, Sunday-school libraries, and book-clubs nowadays bring much reading to

the door of every household and every solitary creature that wants to read. This is a new privilege for the mass of mankind; and it is an inexhaustible source of intellectual and spiritual nutriment. It seems as if this new privilege alone must alter the whole aspect of society in a few generations. Books are the quietest and most constant of friends; they are the most accessible and wisest of counsellors, and the most patient of teachers. With his daily work and his books, many a man, whom the world thought forlorn, has found life worth living. It is a mistake to suppose that a great deal of leisure is necessary for this happy intercourse with books. Ten minutes a day devoted affectionately to good books—indeed to one book of the first order, like the English Bible or Shakespere, or to two or three books of the second order, like Homer, Virgil, Milton, or Bacon—will in thirty years make all the difference between a cultivated and an uncultivated man, between a man mentally rich and a man mentally poor. The pleasures of reading are of course in good part pleasures of the imagination; but they are just as natural and actual as pleasures of sense, and are often more accessible and more lasting.

In the next place, I call your attention to the fact that man is a part of outward nature, and that the men and women among whom our lot is cast are an important part of our actual environment. In some relation or other to these human beings we perforce must stand. The question, in what relation we had better stand to them, is a practical, this-world question, and not a sentimental or next-

world question. Further, our sympathetic feelings, over which we have hardly more control than we have over the beating of our hearts, go out to our fellow-men more and more widely, as better means of communication bring home to us the joys and sorrows of wide-spread multitudes. In what relation is it for our satisfaction to stand in this world toward our fellow-men? Shall we love or hate them, bless or curse them, help or hinder them? These are not theoretical questions which arise out of religious speculation, or some abstract philosophy. They are earthly, every-day, concrete questions, as intensely practical as the question, How are we to get our daily bread? or Where are we to find shelter from the snowstorm? Human beings are all about us; we and they are mutually dependent in ways so complex and intricate that no wisdom can unravel them. It is in vain for us or them to say, "Let us alone," for that is a downright impossibility. To the question, How do reasonable men, under these circumstances, naturally and inevitably incline to act toward their fellow-beings? there is but one common-sense, matter-of-fact answer—namely, They incline to serve and coöperate with them. That civilized society exists at all, is a demonstration that this inclination in the main governs human relations. Every great city is dependent for food, drink, and fuel upon a few bridges, dams, canals, or aqueducts, which a dozen intelligent human devils, armed with suitable explosives and fire-bombs, could destroy in a night. If the doctrine of total depravity were anything but the invention of a morbid human imagination, the mass-

ing of people by hundreds of thousands would be too dangerous to be attempted. Civilized society assumes that the great majority of men will combine to procure advantages, resist evils, defend rights, and remedy wrongs. Following this general and inevitable inclination, the individual finds that by serving others he best serves himself, because he thus conforms to the promptings of his own and their best nature. The most satisfactory thing in all this earthly life is to be able to serve our fellow-beings—first, those who are bound to us by ties of love, then the wider circle of fellow-townsmen, fellow-countrymen, or fellow-men. To be of service is a solid foundation for contentment in this world. For our present purpose, it does not matter where we got these ideas about our own better nature and its best satisfaction; it is enough that our generation, as a matter of fact, has these ideas, and is ruled by them.

The amount of service is no measure of the satisfaction or happiness which he who renders the service derives from it. One man founds an academy or a hospital; another sends one boy to be educated at the academy, or one sick man to be treated at the hospital. The second is the smaller service, but may yield the greater satisfaction. Sir Samuel Romilly attacked the monstrous English laws which affixed the death penalty to a large number of petty offenses against property, like poaching, sheep-stealing, and pocket-picking. In the dawn of a February morning, when the wind was blowing a gale and the thermometer was below zero, Captain Smith of the Cuttyhunk lighthouse took three men

off a wreck which the heavy sea was fast pounding to pieces on a reef close below the light. Sir Samuel Romilly's labors ultimately did an amount of good quite beyond computation; but he lived to see accomplished only a small part of the beneficent changes he had advocated. The chances are that Captain Smith got more satisfaction for the rest of his life out of that rescue, done in an hour, than Sir Samuel out of his years of labor for a much-needed reform in the English penal code. There was another person who took satisfaction in that rescue ever after, and was entitled to. When day dawned on that wintry morning, Captain Smith's wife, who had been listening restlessly to the roar of the sea and the wind, could lie still no longer. She got up and looked out of the window. To her horror there was a small schooner on the reef, in plain sight, one mast fallen over the side, and three men lashed to the other mast. Her husband was still fast asleep. Must she rouse him? If she did, she knew he would go out there into that furious sea and freezing wind. If she waited only a little while, the men would be dead, and it would be of no use to go. Should she speak to him? She did. Oh! it is not the amount of good done which measures the love or heroism which prompted the serviceable deed, or the happiness which the doer gets from it. It is the spirit of service which creates both the merit and the satisfaction.

One of the purest and most enduring of human pleasures is to be found in the possession of a good name among one's neighbors and acquaintances.

As Shakespere puts it

> The purest treasure mortal times afford
> Is spotless reputation.

This is not fame, or even distinction; it is local reputation among the few scores or hundreds of persons who really know one. It is a satisfaction quite of this world, and one attained by large numbers of quiet men and women whose names are never mentioned beyond the limits of their respective sets of acquaintance. Such reputation regards, not mental power or manual skill, but character; it is slowly built upon purity, integrity, courage, and sincerity. To possess it is a crowning satisfaction which is oftenest experienced to the full rather late in life, when some other pleasures begin to fade away.

Lastly, I shall venture to call your attention to the importance—with a view to a happy life—of making a judicious selection of beliefs. Here we are living on a little islet of sense and fact in the midst of a boundless ocean of the unknown and mysterious. From year to year and century to century the islet expands as new districts are successively lifted from out the encompassing sea of ignorance, but it still remains encircled by this prodigious sea. In this state of things, every inquisitive truth-seeking human being is solicited by innumerable beliefs, old and new. The past generations, out of which we spring, have been believing many undemonstrated and undemonstrable things, and we inherit their beliefs. Every year new beliefs appeal to us for acceptance, some of them clashing with the old. Everybody holds numerous beliefs on subjects outside the realm of

knowledge, and, moreover, everybody has to act on these beliefs from hour to hour. All men of science walk by faith and not by sight in exploring and experimenting, the peculiarity of their walk being that they generally take but one step at a time, and that a short one. All business proceeds on beliefs, or judgments of probabilities, and not on certainties. The very essence of heroism is that it takes adverse chances; so that full foreknowledge of the issue would subtract from the heroic quality. Beliefs, then, we must have and must act on, and they are sure to affect profoundly our happiness in this world. How to treat our old beliefs and choose our new ones, with a view to happiness, is in these days a serious problem for every reflective person.

The first steps toward making a calm choice are to observe strictly the line of demarcation between facts on the one hand and beliefs on the other, and to hold facts as facts, and beliefs as nothing more than beliefs. Next we need a criterion or touch-stone for beliefs, old and new. The surest touch-stone is the ethical standard which through inheritance, education, and the experience of daily life has, as a matter of fact, become our standard. It is not for our happiness to believe any proposition about the nature of man, the universe, or God, which is really at war with our fundamental instincts of honor and justice, or with our ideals of gentleness and love, no matter how those instincts and ideals have been implanted or arrived at. The man or woman who hopes to attain reflective happiness, as he works his strenuous way through the

world, must bring all beliefs, old and new, to this critical test, and must reject, or refuse to entertain, beliefs which do not stand the test.

One obvious fact of observation seems to contradict this correlation of beliefs with ethical content, and therefore with happiness. Millions of comfortable men and women do, as a matter of fact, believe various long-transmitted doctrines which are clearly repulsive to the moral sense of the entire present generation. How can this be? Simply because these millions accept also antidotal doctrines which neutralize the natural effect of the first beliefs. This process may persist for generations without affecting much the happiness of mankind, but nevertheless it has its dangers; for if faith in the antidotes be lost first, a moral chaos may set in.

Sudden and solitary changes of belief are seldom happy. A gentle, gradual transformation of beliefs, in company with kindred, neighbors, and friends, is the happiest. Men have always been gregarious in beliefs; if they cannot remain with their own herd, it will be for their happiness to join a more congenial herd as quickly as possible.

Of the two would-be despots in beliefs—the despot who authoritatively commands men to believe as he says, and the despot who forbids men to believe at all—the first is the more tolerable to the immense majority of mankind. Under the first despot millions of people have lived and now live in contented faith; but nobody can live happily under the other. To curious, truth-seeking, pioneering minds one seems as bad as the other, and neither in any way endurable.

A certain deliberation in accepting new beliefs is conducive to happiness, particularly if the new ideas are destructive rather than constructive. Emerson recommends us, as a measure of intellectual economy, not to read a book until it is at least one year old, so many books disappear in a year. In like manner, of novel speculative opinions all but the best-built and most buoyant will go under within ten years of their launching.

We may be sure that cheerful beliefs about the unseen world, framed in full harmony with the beauty of the visible universe, and with the sweetness of domestic affections and joys, and held in company with kindred and friends, will illuminate the dark places on the pathway of earthly life and brighten all the road.

Having thus surveyed the various joys and satisfactions which may make civilized life happy for multitudes of our race, I hasten to admit that there are physical and moral evils in this world which impair or interrupt earthly happiness. The worst of the physical evils are lingering diseases and untimely deaths. I admit, too, that not a few men do, as a matter of fact, lead lives not worth living. I admit, also, that there are dreadful as well as pleasing sights and sounds in this world, and that many seemingly cruel catastrophes and destructions mark the course of nature. Biological science has lately impressed many people with the prevalence of cruelty and mutual destruction in the animal and vegetable world. From man down, the creatures live by preying on each other. Insidious parasites

infest all kinds of plants and animals. Every living thing seems to have its mortal foe. The very ants go to war, for all the world like men; and Venus's Flytrap (Dionæa) is as cruel as a spider. So, human society is riddled with mischiefs and wrongs, some, like Armenian massacres, due to surviving savagery, and some, like slums, to sickly civilization. It would seem impossible to wring satisfaction and considerate happiness from such evils. Yet that is just what men of noble nature are constantly doing. They fight evil, and from the contest win content, and even joy. Nobody has any right to find life uninteresting, or unrewarding, who sees within the sphere of his own activity a wrong which he can help to remedy, or within himself an evil which he can hope to overcome. It should be observed that the inanimate creation does not lend itself, like the animate creation, to the theory that for every good in nature there is an equivalent evil, and for every beautiful thing an ugly offset. There is no direct offset to the constant splendor of the heavens by night or the transient glories of the sunset, no drawback on the beauty of perfect form and various hue in crystalline minerals, and no implicated evil counterbalancing the serenity of the mountains or the sublimity of the ocean. Even the lightning and the storm are wondrously beautiful.

* * * * *

I shall not have succeeded in treating my subject clearly if I have not convinced you that earthly happiness is not dependent on the amount of one's possessions or the nature of one's employment.

The enjoyments and satisfactions which I have described are accessible to poor and rich, to humble and high alike, if only they cultivate the physical, mental, and moral faculties through which the natural joys are won. Any man may win them who, by his daily labor, can earn a wholesome living for himself and his family. I have not mentioned a single pleasure which involves unusual expense, or the possession of any uncommon mental gifts. It follows that the happiness of the entire community is to be most surely promoted, not by increasing its total wealth or even by distributing that wealth more evenly, but by improving its physical and moral health. A poorer population may easily be happier than a richer, if it be of sounder health and morality.

In conclusion, let me ask you to consider whether the rational conduct of life on the this-world principles here laid down would differ in any important respect from the right conduct of life on the principles of the Christian gospels. It does not seem to me that it would.

1895

JOHN GILLEY

MAINE FARMER AND FISHERMAN

To be absolutely forgotten in a few years is the common fate of mankind. Isaac Watts did not exaggerate when he wrote:

> "Time, like an ever-rolling stream,
> Bears *all* its sons away:
> They fly forgotten, as a dream
> Dies at the opening day."

With the rarest exceptions, the death of each human individual is followed in a short time by complete oblivion, so far as living human memories are concerned. Even family recollection or tradition quickly becomes dim, and soon fades utterly away. Few of us have any clear transmitted impression of our great-grandparents; some of us could not describe our grandparents. Even men accounted famous at their deaths slip from living memories and become mere shadows or word-pictures—shadows or pictures which too often distort or misrepresent the originals. Not one human being in ten million is really long remembered. For the mass of mankind absolute oblivion, like death, is sure. But what if it is? Should this indubitable fact affect injuriously the mortal life in this world of the ordinary human being? Not at all. For

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most men and women the enjoyments, interests, and duties of this world are just as real and absorbing, at the moment, as they would be if the enjoying, interested, and dutiful individuals could imagine that they were long to be remembered on this earthly stage. A few unusually imaginative and ambitious persons are doubtless stimulated and supported by the hope of undying fame—a hope which in the immense majority of such cases proves to be a pure delusion. The fact is that forelooking is not a common occupation of the human mind. We all live, as a rule, in the present and the past, and take very little thought for the future. Now, in estimating the aggregate well-being and happiness of a community or a nation, it is obviously the condition of the obscure millions, who are sure to be absolutely forgotten, that it is most important to see and weigh aright; yet history and biography alike neglect these humble, speechless multitudes, and modern fiction finds it profitable to portray the most squalid and vicious sides of the life of these millions rather than the best and the commonest. Thus the facts about the life of the common multitude go unobserved, or at least unrecorded, while fiction paints that life in false colors.

This little book describes with accuracy the actual life of one of the to-be-forgotten millions. Is this life a true American type? If it is, there is good hope for our country.

John Gilley was born February 22, 1822, at the Fish Point on Great Cranberry Island, Maine, whither his mother, who lived on Baker's Island,

had gone to be confined at the house of Mrs. Stanley, a midwife. Baker's Island lies nearly four miles from the island of Mount Desert. It is a roundish island, a little more than half a mile from north to south, and a little less than half a mile wide from east to west. At low tide it is connected with another much larger island, called Little Cranberry, by a reef and bar about a mile long; but by half-tide this bar is entirely covered. Almost all the coasting vessels which come from the westward, bound to the Bay of Fundy or to the coast of Maine east of Frenchman's Bay, pass just outside of Baker's Island; and, as this island has some dangerous ledges near it, the United States built a lighthouse on its highest part in the year 1828. The island has no good harbor; but in the summer small vessels find a safe anchorage on the north side of it, except in easterly storms. The whole shore of the island is bare rock, and the vegetation does not approach the ordinary level of high water, the storm-waves keeping the rocks bare far above and behind the smooth-water level of high tide. There are many days in every year when it is impossible to land on the island or to launch a boat from it. In the milder half of the year the island is of course a convenient stopping-place for offshore fishermen, for it is several miles nearer the fishing-grounds than the harbors of Mount Desert proper. In the first years of this century the island was uninhabited, and was covered by a growth of good-sized trees, both evergreen and deciduous.

About the year 1812, William Gilley of Nor-

wood's Cove, at the foot of Somes Sound on its west side, and Hannah Lurvey, his wife, decided to move on to Baker's Island with their three little children and all their goods. Up to that time he had got his living chiefly on fishing or coasting vessels; but, like most young men of the region, he was also something of a wood-cutter and farmer. He and his wife had already accumulated a little store of household goods and implements, and tools for fishing and farming. They needed no money wherewith to buy Baker's Island. There it lay in the sea, unoccupied and unclaimed; and they simply took possession of it.

William Gilley was a large, strong man, six feet tall, and weighing over two hundred pounds. His father is said to have come from Great Britain at fourteen years of age. Hannah Gilley was a robust woman, who had lived in Newburyport and Byfield, Massachusetts, until she was thirteen years old, and had there had much better schooling than was to be had on the island of Mount Desert. She was able to teach all her children to read, write, and cipher; and all her life she valued good reading, and encouraged it in her family. Her father, Jacob Lurvey, was born in Gloucester, Massachusetts, and married Hannah Boynton of Byfield. The name Lurvey is a good transliteration of the German Loewe, which is a common name among German Jews; and there is a tradition in the Lurvey family that the first Lurvey, who emigrated to Massachusetts in the seventeenth century, was of Jewish descent and came from Archangel in Russia. It is noticeable that many of the Lurveys have Old

Testament names, such as Reuben, Levi, Samuel, Isaac, and Jacob, and that their noses tend to be aquiline. This was the case with most of the children of William and Hannah Gilley. The father of Hannah served in the Revolutionary army as a boy. He lived to the age of ninety-two, and had ten children and seventy-seven grandchildren. The Lurveys are therefore still numerous at South-West Harbor and the vicinity.

For William Gilley the enterprise of taking possession of Baker's Island involved much heavy labor, but few unaccustomed risks. For Hannah, his wife, it was different. She already had three little children, and she was going to face for herself and her family a formidable isolation which was absolute for considerable periods in the year. Moreover, she was going to take her share in the severe labors of a pioneering family. Even to get a footing on this wooded island—to land lumber, live stock, provisions, and the implements of labor, and to build the first shelter—was no easy task. A small, rough beach of large stones was the only landing-place, and just above the bare rocks of the shore was the forest. However, health, strength, and fortitude were theirs; and in a few years they had established themselves on the island in considerable comfort. Nine more children were born to them there; so that they ultimately had a family of twelve children, of whom six were sons and six daughters. All these children grew to maturity. Fortunately, the eldest child was a girl, for it was the mother that most needed help. Three of the children are still (1899) living, two of them over

eighty years of age and one over ninety. Nine of the twelve children married, and to them were born fifty-eight children, of whom forty-five are still living.

John Gilley was the tenth child and also the youngest son, and when he was born the family had already been ten years on the island, and had transformed it into a tolerable farm. When he began to look about him, his father was keeping about six cows, a yoke of oxen, two or three young cattle, about fifty sheep, and three or four hogs. Several of the children were already contributing by their labor to the support of the family. The girls, by the time they were twelve years old, were real helpers for the mother. They tended the poultry, made butter, and spun wool. The boys naturally helped in the work of the father. He, unaided except by his boys, had cleared a considerable portion of the island, burning up in so doing a fine growth of trees—spruce, fir, birch, and beech. With his oxen he had broken up the cleared land, hauled off part of the stones and piled them on the protruding ledges, and gradually made fields for grass and other crops. In the earlier years, before flour began to be cheap at the Mount Desert "stores," he had even raised a little wheat on the island; but the main crops besides hay were potatoes and other vegetables for the use of the family and cattle. The son is still living who carried a boat-load of wheat to Somesville, had it ground and sifted into three grades, and carried all three back to the island for winter use. The potato-bug and potato-rot were then unknown, and

the island yielded any wished-for amount of potatoes. The family often dug from two to three hundred bushels of potatoes in a season, and fed what they did not want to their cattle and hogs. Food at the island was habitually abundant. It was no trouble to get lobsters. No traps were needed; they could be picked up in the shallow water along the rocky shore. Fresh fish were always to be easily procured, except in stormy weather and in cold and windy February and March. A lamb could be killed at any time in the summer. In the fall, in sorting the flock of sheep, the family killed from ten to fifteen sheep; and what they could not use as fresh mutton they salted. Later in the season, when the weather turned cold, they killed a "beef-critter," and sometimes two when the family grew large. Part of this beef was salted, but part was kept frozen throughout the winter to be used fresh. Sea-birds added to their store of food. Shooting them made sport for the boys. Ducks and other sea-fowl were so abundant in the fall that the gunners had to throw away the bodies of the birds, after picking off all the feathers. The family never bought any salt pork, but every winter made a year's supply. Although codfish were easily accessible, the family made no use of salt cod. They preferred mackerel, which were to be taken in the near waters in some month of every year. They had a few nets, but they also caught mackerel on the hook. During the summer and early autumn the family had plenty of fresh vegetables.

For clothing the family depended mostly on wool from their own sheep. They used very little cotton.

There were spinning-wheels and looms in the house, and the mother both spun and wove. Flax they raised on the island, and from it made a coarse kind of linen, chiefly for towels. They did, however, buy a cotton warp, and filled it with wool, thus making a comfortable sort of sheet for winter use or light blanket for summer. The wool of at least fifty sheep was used every year in the household, when the family had grown large. The children all went barefoot the greater part of the year; but in the winter they wore shoes or boots, the eldest brother having learned enough of the shoemaker's art to keep the family supplied with footwear in winter. At that time there were no such things as rubber boots, and the family did not expect to have dry feet.

Their uses for money were few; but some essentials to comfort they must procure at the store, seven miles away, at South-West Harbor, in return for money or its equivalent. Their available resources for procuring money were very much like those of similar families to-day in the same neighborhood. They could sell or exchange butter and eggs at the store, and they could sell in Boston dried fish and feathers. One of John's elder brothers shot birds enough in a single year to yield over a hundredweight of feathers, worth fifty cents a pound in Boston. The family shipped their feathers to Boston every year by a coasting vessel; and this product represented men's labor, whereas the butter and eggs represented chiefly the women's labor. The butter was far the best of the cash resources; and so it remains to this day in these

islands. It sold in the vicinity at twelve and a half cents a pound. There was one other source of money, namely smoked herring. The herring which abound in these waters had at that time no value for bait; but smoked herring could be sold in New York, which was the best market for them, at from seventy-five cents to one dollar and ten cents a box, each box holding half a bushel. The herring were caught, for the most part, in gill-nets; for there were then no weirs and no seines. The family had their own smoke-house, and made the boxes themselves from lumber which was sawed for them at the Somesville or the Duck Brook saw-mill. Each of these saw-mills was at least nine miles distant from Baker's Island; so that it was a serious undertaking, requiring favorable weather, to boat the lumber from the mill and land it safely at the rough home beach. The family nailed the boxes together, out of the sawed lumber in the early fall, and packed them with the fragrant fish; and then some coasting vessel, usually a schooner owned in a neighboring island, carried the finished product to distant New York, and brought back, after a month or two, clear cash to pay for the winter's stores.

In this large and united family the boys stayed at home and worked for their parents until they were twenty-one years of age, and the girls stayed at home until they were married and had homes of their own or had come of age. All the boys and three of the girls were ultimately married. The three girls who did not marry went away from home to earn money by household labor, factory work, nursing, or sewing. It was not all work for

the children on the island, or, indeed, for the father and mother. In the long winter evenings they played checkers and fox and geese; and the mother read to the family until the children grew old enough to take their share in reading aloud. Out of doors they played ball, and in winter coasted on the snow. The boys, as soon as they were ten or twelve years of age, were in and out of boats much of the time, and so attained that quick, instinctive use of oar, sail, and tiller in which lies safety. When they grew older they had the sport of gunning, with the added interest of profit from the feathers. Their domestic animals were a great interest as well as a great care. Then, they always had before them some of the most splendid aspects of nature. From their sea-girt dwelling they could see the entire hemisphere of the sky; and to the north lay the grand hills of Mount Desert, with outline clear and sharp when the northwest wind blew, but dim and soft when southerly winds prevailed. In every storm a magnificent surf dashed up on the rockbound isle. In winter the low sun made the sea toward the south a sheet of shimmering silver; and all the year an endless variety of colors, shades, and textures played over the surfaces of hills and sea. The delight in such visions is often but half conscious in persons who have not the habit of reflection; but it is nevertheless a real source of happiness, which is soon missed when one brought up amid such pure and noble scenes is set down among the straitened, squalid, ugly sights of a city. On the whole, the survivors of that isolated family look back on their

childhood as a happy one; and they feel a strong sense of obligation to the father and mother—particularly to the mother, because she was a person of excellent faculties and an intellectual outlook. Like most of her people for two generations, she was a member of the Congregational Church; and in the summer-time she took the eldest children nearly every Sunday in mild weather to the church at South-West Harbor, going seven miles each way in an open boat. To be sure, the minister taught that hell was paved with infants' skulls, and descriptions of hell-fire and the undying worm formed an important part of every discourse. Some of the children supposed themselves to accept what they heard at church; but the mother did not. She bought books and read for herself; and by the time she had borne half a dozen children she could no longer accept the old beliefs, and became a Universalist, to which more cheerful faith she adhered till her death.

It is obvious that this family on its island domain was much more self-contained and independent than any ordinary family is to-day, even under similar circumstances. They got their fuel, food, and clothing as products of their own skill and labor, their supplies and resources being almost all derived from the sea and from their own fields and woods. In these days of one crop on a farm, one trade for a man, and factory labor for whole families, it is not probable that there exists a single American family which is so little dependent on exchange of products, or on supplies resulting from the labor of others, as was the family of William and Hannah Gilley

from 1812 to 1842. It should also be observed that sea-shore people have a considerable advantage in bringing up boys, because boys who become good boatmen must have had an admirable training in alertness, prompt decision, resource in emergencies, and courageous steadiness in difficulties and dangers. The shore fisherman or lobsterman on the coast of Maine, often going miles to sea alone in a half-decked boat, is liable to all sorts of vexatious or formidable weather changes—in summer to fog, calms, and squalls, in winter to low-lying icy vapor, blinding snow, and the sudden northwester at zero, against which he must beat homeward with the flying spray freezing fast to hull, sails, and rigging. The youth who learns to wring safety and success out of such adverse conditions has been taught by these struggles with nature to be vigilant, patient, self-reliant, and brave. In these temperate regions the adverse forces of nature are not, as they sometimes are in the tropics, irresistible and overwhelming. They can be resisted and overcome by man; and so they develop in successive generations some of the best human qualities.

It resulted from the principles in which the children had been brought up that no one of the boys began to save much of anything for himself until he was twenty-one years of age. It was therefore 1843 before John Gilley began to earn money on his own account. Good health, a strong body, skill as a sailor, and some knowledge of farming, stock-raising, and fishing, he had acquired. In what way should he now begin to use these acquisitions for his own advantage? A fortunate change in his

father's occupation fifteen years before probably facilitated John's entrance on a career of his own. William Gilley had been appointed light-keeper in 1828, with a compensation of three hundred and fifty dollars a year in money, the free occupation of a house, and all the sperm-oil he could use in his household. He held this place until the year 1849, when, on the coming into power of the Whig party, he was turned out and a Whig was appointed in his place. Perhaps in recognition of his long service, it was considerately suggested to him that he might retain his position if he should see fit to join the dominant party; but to this overture he replied, with some expletives, that he would not change his political connection for all the lighthouses in the United States. Now, three hundred and fifty dollars a year in cash, besides house and light, was a fortune to any coast-of-Maine family seventy years ago,—indeed, it still is,—and William Gilley undoubtedly was able to lay up some portion of it, besides improving his buildings, live stock, boats, tools, and household furniture. From these savings the father was able to furnish a little money to start his sons each in his own career. This father was himself an irrepressible pioneer, always ready for a new enterprise. In 1837, long before he was turned out of the lighthouse, he bought for three hundred dollars Great Duck Island, an uninhabited island about five miles southwest of Baker's Island, and even more difficult of access, his project being to raise live stock there. Shortly after he ceased to be light-keeper, when he was about sixty-three years old, and his youngest children were grown up,

he went to live on Great Duck, and there remained almost alone until he was nearly eighty years of age. His wife Hannah had become somewhat infirm, and was unable to do more than make him occasional visits on Duck Island. She died at sixty-nine, but he lived to be ninety-two. Each lived in their declining years with one of their married sons, Hannah on Little Cranberry and William on Baker's. Such is the natural mode of taking care of old parents in a community where savings are necessarily small and only the able-bodied can really earn their livelihood.

John Gilley's first venture was the purchase of a part of a small coasting schooner called the *Preference,* which could carry about one hundred tons, and cost between eight and nine hundred dollars. He became responsible for one-third of her value, paying down one or two hundred dollars, which his father probably lent him. For the rest of the third he obtained credit for a short time from the seller of the vessel. The other two owners were men who belonged on Great Cranberry Island. The owners proceeded to use their purchase during all the mild weather—perhaps six months of each year—in carrying paving-stones to Boston. These stones, unlike the present rectangular granite blocks, were smooth cobblestones picked up on the outside beaches of the neighboring islands. They of course were not found on any inland or smooth-water beaches, but only where heavy waves rolled the beach-stones up and down. The crew of the *Preference* must therefore anchor her off an exposed beach, and then, with a large dory, boat off

to her the stones which they picked up by hand. This work was possible only during moderate weather. The stones must be of tolerably uniform size, neither too large nor too small; and each one had to be selected by the eye and picked up by the hand. When the dory was loaded, it had to be lifted off the beach by the men standing in the water, and rowed out to the vessel; and there every single stone had to be picked up by hand and thrown on to the vessel. A hundred tons having been thus got aboard by sheer hard work of human muscle, the old craft, which was not too seaworthy, was sailed to Boston, to be discharged at what was then called the "Stone Wharf" in Charlestown. There the crew threw the stones out of her hold on to the wharf by hand. They therefore lifted and threw these hundred tons of stone three times at least before they were deposited on the city's wharf. The cobblestones were the main freight of the vessel; but she also carried dried fish to Boston, and fetched back goods to the island stores of the vicinity. Some of the island people bought their flour, sugar, drygoods, and other family stores in Boston through the captain of the schooner. John Gilley soon began to go as captain, being sometimes accompanied by the other owners and sometimes by men on wages. He was noted among his neighbors for the care and good judgment with which he executed their various commissions, and he knew himself to be trusted by them. This business he followed for several years, paid off his debt to the seller of the schooner, and began to lay up money. It was an immense satisfaction to him to feel him-

self thus established in an honest business which he understood, and in which he was making his way. There are few solider satisfactions to be won in this world by anybody, in any condition of life. The scale of the business—large or small—makes little difference in the measure of content.

At that time—about 1843 to 1850—there were very few guides to navigation between Mount Desert and Boston compared with the numerous marks that the government now maintains. Charts were lacking, and the government had issued no coast-pilot. Blunt's "Coast-Pilot" was the only book in use among the coastwise navigators, and its description of the coast of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts was very incomplete, though tolerably accurate in the few most important regions. It was often anxious business for the young owners of an old, uninsured vessel to encounter the various weather of the New England coast between the first of April and the first of December. Their all and sometimes their lives were at stake on their own prudence, knowledge and skill. None of them had knowledge of navigation in the technical sense; they were coasting sailors only, who found their way from point to point along the shore by practice, keen observation, and good memory for objects once seen and courses once safely steered. The young man who can do this work successfully has some good grounds for self-respect. At this business John Gilley laid up several hundred dollars. In a few years he was able to sell the *Preference* and buy half of a much better vessel called the *Express*. She was larger,

younger, and a better sailer, and cost her purchasers between fifteen and sixteen hundred dollars. He followed the same business in the *Express* for several years more, laying her up in the late autumn and fitting her out again every spring. The winters he generally spent with his father and mother, or with one of his married brothers; but even in such periods of comparative repose he kept busy, and was always trying to make a little money. He was fond of gunning, and liked it all the better because it yielded feathers for sale. In December, 1853, he was staying with his brother Samuel Gilley on Little Cranberry Island, and gunning as usual; but his brother observed that he did not sell the feathers which he assiduously collected. That winter there was a schoolteacher from Sullivan on Little Cranberry, who seemed to be an intelligent and pleasing girl. He made no remarks on the subject to his brother; but that brother decided that John was looking for a wife—or, as this brother expressed it at the age of eighty-two, "John was thinking of looking out for the woman; he saved his feathers—and actions speak louder than words." Moreover, he sold his vessel at Rockland, and found himself in possession of nine or ten hundred dollars in money, the product of patient industry, and not the result of drawing a prize or two in the fishing lottery. In the following spring he went with six or seven other men, in a low-priced fishing-vessel of about thirty-five tons which his brother Samuel and he had bought, up the Bay of Fundy and to the banks between Mount Desert and Cape Sable, fishing for cod and haddock.

Every fortnight or three weeks the brothers came home to land their fish and get supplies; but the schoolmistress had gone home to Sullivan. During that spring John Gilley crossed more than once to Sutton's Island, an island about a mile long, which lies between the Cranberry Islands and the Island of Mount Desert, with its long axis lying nearly east and west. On this island he bought, that season, a rough, neglected farm of about fifty acres, on which stood a house and barn. It was a great undertaking to put the buildings into habitable condition and clear up and improve the few arable fields. But John Gilley looked forward to the task with keen interest and a good hope, and he had the definite purpose of providing here a permanent home for himself and a wife.

When cold weather put an end to the fishing season, John Gilley, having provided all necessary articles for his house, sailed over to Sullivan, distant about eighteen miles, in his fishing-vessel and brought back to the home on Sutton's Island Harriet Bickford Wilkinson, the schoolmistress from Sullivan. The grandfather of Harriet Wilkinson came to Sullivan from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1769, and her mother's family came from York, Maine. The marriage took place on December 25, 1854, when John was thirty-two and Harriet was twenty-five; and both entered with joy upon married life at their own island farm. She was a pretty woman, but delicate, belonging to a family which was thought to have a tendency to consumption. In the summer of 1855 he spent about half of his time on

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this same vessel which had brought home his wife, and made a fair profit on the fishing; and the next year he sometimes went on short trips of shore fishing; but that was the last of his going away from the farm. Whatever fishing he did afterward he did in an open boat not far from home, and he went coasting no more. A son was born to them, but lived only seven months; and soon the wife's health began to fail. A wife's sickness, in the vast majority of families, means, first, the loss of her labor in the care and support of the household, and secondly, the necessity of hiring some woman to do the work which the wife cannot do. This necessity of hiring is a heavy burden in a family where little money is earned, although there may be great comfort so far as food, fire, and clothing are concerned. His young wife continuing to grow worse, John Gilley tried all means that were possible to him to restore her health. He consulted the neighboring physicians, bought quantities of medicine in great variety, and tried in every way that love or duty could suggest to avert the threatening blow. It was all in vain. Harriet Gilley lived only two years and a half after her marriage, dying in June, 1857. At this period, his expenses being large, and his earning power reduced, John Gilley was forced to borrow a little money. The farm and the household equipment had absorbed his whole capital.

On April 27, 1857, there came from Sullivan, to take care of Harriet, Mary Jane Wilkinson, her cousin. This cousin was only twenty-one years of age; but her father was dead, and her mother had

married again. She had helped her mother till she was almost twenty-one years of age, but now felt free. Until this cousin came, nieces and a sister of John Gilley had helped him to take care of his dying wife. The women relatives must always come to the aid of a family thus distressed. To help in taking care of the farm and in fishing, John Gilley habitually hired a man all through the season, and this season of 1857 the hired man was his wife's brother. When Harriet Gilley died, there was still the utmost need of a woman on the farm: so Mary Jane Wilkinson stayed during the summer and through the next winter; and before the end of that winter she had promised to marry John Gilley. There were at that time eight houses on Sutton's Island, and more permanent residents than there are now. Mary Jane Wilkinson was fond of the care of animals and of farm duties in general. She found at the farm only twelve hens, a cow, and a calf, and she set to work at once to increase the quantity of live stock; but in April, 1858, she returned to her mother's house at West Gouldsboro', that she might prepare her wardrobe and some articles of household linen. When, later in the season, John Gilley came after Mary Jane Wilkinson at Jone's Cove, he had to transport to Sutton's Island, besides Mary Jane's personal possessions, a pair of young steers, a pig, and a cat. They were married at North-East Harbor by Squire Kimball, in the old tavern on the west side of the harbor, in July 1858; and then these two set about improving their condition by unremitting industry and frugality, and an intelligent use of

every resource the place afforded. The new wife gave her attention to the poultry and made butter whenever the milk could not be sold as such. The price of butter had greatly improved since John Gilley was a boy on Baker's Island. It could now be sold at from twenty to twenty-five cents a pound. In summer Squire Kimball, at the tavern, bought their milk. All summer eggs could be sold at the stores on the neighboring islands; but in the fall it was necessary to send them to Boston. During the fishing season the husband frequently went for fish in an open boat with one sail; but he no longer absented himself from home for weeks at a time. His labor on the farm was incessant. On the crest of the island a small field had been cleared by the former occupant of the house. With the help of a yoke of oxen John Gilley proceeded to add to this field on the east and on the west. The piles of stones which he heaped up on the bare ledges remain to this day to testify to his industry. One of them is twenty-four feet long, fifteen feet wide, and five feet high. In after years he was proud of these piles, regarding them as monuments to his patient industry and perseverance in the redemption, or rather creation, of this precious mowing-field.

In these labors three or four years had passed away, when the Civil War broke out, and soon, linseed-oil becoming scarce, porgy-oil attained an unheard of value. Fortunately for the New England shore people, the porgies arrived in shoals on the coast in every season for rather more than ten years. At various places along the shore from Long Island Sound to the Bay of Fundy, large

factories were built for expressing the oil from these fish; but this was an industry which could also be well conducted on a small scale with a few nets, a big kettle, and a screw-press worked by hand. For an enterprising and energetic man here was a new chance of getting profit from the sea. Accordingly, John Gilley, like thousands of other fishermen along the New England coast, set up a small porgy-oil factory, and during the porgy season this was his most profitable form of industry. During the last part of the war porgy-oil sold at a dollar or even a dollar and ten cents a gallon. The chum, or refuse from the press, was a valuable element in manure. All of John Gilley's porgy-chum went to enrich his precious fields. We may be sure that this well-used opportunity gave him great satisfaction.

The farm, like most farms on the Maine shore, not sufficing for the comfortable support of his family, John Gilley was always looking for another industry by which he could add to his annual income. He found such an industry in the manufacture of smoked herring. This was at that time practised in two ways among the island people. Fresh herring were caught near home, and were immediately corned and smoked; and salted herring brought from the Magdalen Islands were brought by the vessel-load, soaked in fresh water to remove a part of the salt, and then smoked. John Gilley built a large smoke-house on his shore close to a safe and convenient anchorage, and there pursued the herring business in both forms, whenever supplies of herring could be obtained. This is an industry

in which women can bear a part. They can pull out the gills and string the wet fish on the sticks by which they are hung up in the smoke-house; and they can pack the dried fish into the boxes in which they are marketed. So the wife and eldest daughter, as time went on, took a hand in this herring work. The sawed lumber for the boxes was all brought from the saw-mill at the head of Somes Sound, eight miles away. The men did that transportation, and nailed the boxes together. It was characteristic of John Gilley that he always took pains to have his things better than anybody else's. He was careful and particular about all his work, and thoroughly believed in the good results of this painstaking care. He was always confident that his milk, butter, eggs, fowls, porgy-oil, and herring were better than the common, and were worth a higher price; and he could often induce purchasers to think so, too.

Of the second marriage there came three girls, who all grew to maturity, and two of whom were married in due season; but when John Gilley was seventy-four years old he had but two grandchildren, of whom the elder was only eight years old, his fate in this respect being far less fortunate than that of his father. Late marriage caused him to miss some of the most exquisite of natural human delights. He could not witness the coming of grandchildren to maturity. He had the natural, animal fondness—so to speak—for children, the economic liking for them as helpers, and the real love for them as affectionate comrades and friends.

The daughters were disposed to help in the sup-

port of the family and the care of the farm. The eldest went through the whole course of the Normal School at Castine, and became a teacher. The youngest was best at household and farm work, having her father's head for business. The other daughter was married early, but had already gone from her father's house to Little Cranberry Island as a helper in the family of the principal storekeeper on that island. Since the household needed the assistance of another male, it was their custom to hire a well-grown boy or a man during the better part of the year, the wages for such services being not more than from fifteen to twenty dollars a month in addition to board and lodging.

Although the island lay much nearer to the shores of Mount Desert than Baker's Island did, the family had hardly more intercourse with the main island than William Gilley's family on Baker's Island had had a generation before. They found their pleasures chiefly at home. In the winter evenings they read aloud to one another, thus carrying down to another generation the habit which Hannah Lurvey Gilley had established in her family. The same good habit has been transmitted to the family of one of John Gilley's married daughters, where it is now in force.

In the early autumn of 1874 a serious disaster befell this industrious and thriving family. One evening Mr. and Mrs. Gilley were walking along the southern shore of the island toward a neighbor's house, when John suggested that it was time for Mary Jane to get the supper, and for him to attend to the fire in the smoke-house, which was full

of herring hung up to smoke, and also contained on the floor a large quantity of packed herring, the fruit of the entire summer's work on herring. The smoke-house was large, and at one end there stood a carpenter's bench with a good many tools. It was also used as a place of storage for rigging, anchors, blocks, and other seamen's gear. Mrs. Gilley went home and made ready the supper. John Gilley arranged the fire as usual in the smoke-house, and went up to the house from the shore. As the family were sitting at supper, a neighbor, who had been calling there and had gone out, rushed back, exclaiming, "Your smoke-house is all afire!" So indeed it was; and in a few minutes John Gilley's chief investment and all his summer's work went up in flames. The whole family ran to the scene, but it was too late to do more than save the fish-house which stood near. John opened the door of the smoke-house and succeeded in rescuing a pair of oiled trousers and his precious compass, which stood on a shelf by the door. Everything else was burned up clean. John said but little at the moment, and looked calmly on at the quick destruction; but when he went to bed that night, he broke down and bewailed his loss with tears and sobs. He had lost not only a sum of money which was large for him,—perhaps five hundred dollars,—but, what was more, he had lost an object of interest and affection, and a means of livelihood which represented years of patient labor. It was as if a mill-owner had lost his mill without insurance, or the owner of a noble vessel had seen her go down within sight of home. This was the only time in

all their married life that his wife ever saw him overcome by such emotion. In consequence of this disaster, it was necessary for John Gilley, in order to buy stores enough for the ensuing winter, to sell part of the livestock off his farm. This fact shows how close may be the margin of livelihood for a family on the New England coast which really owns a good deal of property and is justly held by its neighbors to be well off. If the cash proceeds of a season's work are lost or destroyed, extraordinary and undesirable means have to be taken to carry over the family to another season. This may happen to a healthy, industrious, frugal household. Much worse, of course, may happen in consequence of sudden disaster in an unthrifty or sickly family. The investments of poor men are apt to be very hazardous. They put their all into farming-tools or livestock; they risk everything they have on an old vessel or on a single crop, and therefore on the weather of a single season; with their small savings they build a barn or a smoke-house, which may be reduced to ashes with all its contents in fifteen minutes. Insurance they can seldom afford. If the investments of the rich were as hazardous as are those of the poor, theirs would be a lot even more worrisome than it is now.

The smoke-house was never rebuilt. At first the money to rebuild was lacking, and later a new prospect opened before the family. After the fire John Gilley went more into cows and less into fat oxen. Hitherto he had always kept a good yoke of oxen and some steers, and he had been accustomed to do their hauling and ploughing for all the

families on the island. Thereafter he generally had as many as five cows, but often only a single young ox to do the hauling for the island. He always trained his oxen himself, and had pleasure in the company of these patient and serviceable creatures.

In 1880 the Gilleys on Sutton's Island heard that three "Westerners," or "rusticators," had bought land at North-East Harbor. One was said to be a bishop, another the president of a college, and the third and earliest buyer a landscape-gardener—whatever that might be. It was even reported that one of these pioneers had landed on the western end of Sutton's Island and walked the length of the island. The news was intensely interesting to all the inhabitants. They had heard of the fabulous prices of land at Bar Harbor, and their imaginations began to play over their own pastures and wood-lots. John Gilley went steadily on his laborious and thrifty way. He served the town in various capacities, such as selectman and collector of taxes. He was one of the school committee for several years, and later one of the board of health. He was also road surveyor on the island—there being but one road, and that grass-grown. As a town officer John Gilley exhibited the same uprightness and frugality which he showed in all his private dealings. To be chosen to responsible office by his fellow-townsmen, every one of whom knew him personally, was to him a source of rational gratification; and in each of his offices he had occasion to enlarge his knowledge and to undertake new responsibilities.

In 1884 the extreme western point of Sutton's

Island was sold to a "Westerner," a professor in Harvard College, and shortly after a second sale in the same neighborhood was effected; but it was not until 1886 that John Gilley made his first sale of land for summering purposes. In the next year he made another sale, and in 1894 a third. The prices he obtained, though moderate compared with the prices charged at Bar Harbor or North-East Harbor, were forty or fifty times any price which had ever been put on his farm by the acre. Being thus provided with what was for him a considerable amount of ready money, he did what all his like do when they come into possession of ready money—he first gave himself and his family the pleasure of enlarging and improving his house and other buildings, and then lent the balance on small mortgages on village real estate. Suddenly he became a prosperous man, at ease, and a leader in his world. Up to this time, since his second marriage, he had merely earned a comfortable livelihood by diversified industry; but now he possessed a secured capital in addition to his farm and its buildings. At last, he was highly content, but nevertheless ready as ever for new undertakings. His mind was active, and his eye and hand were steady.

When three cottages had stood for several years on the eastern foreside of North-East Harbor,—the nearest point of the shore of Mount Desert to Sutton's Island,—John Gilley, at the age of seventy-one, undertook to deliver at these houses milk, eggs, and fresh vegetables every day, and chickens and fowls when they were wanted. This undertaking involved his rowing in all weathers

nearly two miles from his cove to the landings of these houses, and back again, across bay waters which are protected indeed from the heavy ocean swells, but are still able to produce what the natives call "a big chop." Every morning he arrived with the utmost punctuality, in rain or shine, calm or blow, and alone, unless it blew heavily from the northwest (a head wind from Sutton's), or his little grandson—his mate, as he called the boy—wanted to accompany him on a fine, still morning. Soon he extended his trips to the western side of North-East Harbor, where he found a much larger market for his goods than he had found thirty-five years before, when he first delivered milk at Squire Kimball's tavern. This business involved what was new work for John Gilley, namely, the raising of fresh vegetables in much larger variety and quantity than he was accustomed to. He entered on this new work with interest and intelligence, but was of course sometimes defeated in his plans by wet weather in spring, a drought in summer, or by the worms and insects which unexpectedly attacked his crops. On the whole he was decidedly successful in this enterprise undertaken at seventy-one. Those who bought of him liked to deal with him, and he found in the business fresh interest and pleasure. Not many men take up a new out-of-door business at seventy, and carry it on successfully by their own brains and muscles. It was one of the sources of his satisfaction that he thus supplied the two daughters who still lived at his house with a profitable outlet for their energies. One of these—the school teacher—was an excellent

laundress, and the other was devoted to the work of the house and the farm, and was helpful in her father's new business. John Gilley transported the washes from North-East Harbor and back again in his rowboat, and under the new conditions of the place washing and ironing proved to be more profitable than school-teaching.

In the fall of 1896 the family which had occupied that summer one of the houses John Gilley was in the habit of supplying with milk, eggs, and vegetables, and which had a young child dependent on the milk, lingered after the other summer households had departed. He consented to continue his daily trips a few days into October that the child's milk might not be changed, although it was perfectly clear that his labor could not be adequately recompensed. On the last morning but one that he was to come across from the island to the harbor a strong northeast wind was blowing, and some sea was running through the deep passage between Sutton's Island and Bear Island, which he had to cross on his way to and fro. He took with him in his boat the young man who had been working for him on the farm the few weeks past. They delivered the milk, crossed to the western side of North-East Harbor, did some errands there, and started cheerfully for home, as John Gilley had done from that shore hundreds of times before. The boy rowed from a seat near the bow, and the old man sat on the thwart near the stern, facing the bow, and pushing his oars from him. They had no thought of danger; but to ease the rowing they kept to windward under Bear Island, and then

pushed across the deep channel, south by west, for the western point of Sutton's Island. They were more than half-way across when, through some inattention or lack of skill on the part of the young man in the bow, a sea higher or swifter than the rest threw a good deal of water into the boat. John Gilley immediately began to bail, and told the rower to keep her head to the waves. The overweighted boat was less manageable than before, and in a moment another roller turned her completely over. Both men clung to the boat and climbed on to her bottom. She drifted away before the wind and sea toward South-West Harbor. The oversetting of the boat had been seen from both Bear Island and Sutton's Island; but it was nearly three quarters of an hour before the rescuers could reach the floating boat, and then the young man, though unconscious, was still clinging to the boat's keel, but the old man, chilled by the cold water and stunned by the waves which beat about his head, had lost his hold and sunk into the sea. In half an hour John Gilley had passed from a hearty and successful old age in this world, full of its legitimate interests and satisfactions, into the voiceless mystery of death. No trace of his body was ever found. It disappeared into the waters on which he had played and worked as boy and man all his long and fortunate life. He left his family well provided for, and full of gratitude and praise for his honorable career and his sterling character.

This is the life of one of the forgotten millions. It contains no material for distinction, fame, or long remembrance; but it does contain the material

and present the scene for a normal human development through mingled joy and sorrow, labor and rest, adversity and success, and through the tender loves of childhood, maturity, and age. We cannot but believe that it is just for countless quiet, simple lives like this that God made and upholds this earth.

1899

CHARACTER OF CHARLES ELIOT

So ended abruptly, and to human vision prematurely, a life simple, natural, happy, and wholly beneficent. The qualities and powers which gave such happiness and success are easily discerned.

Physically, Charles was tall and slight, and never seemed robust, or capable of any unusual amount of labor. His digestion was easily disturbed, and he was not infrequently kept from his work for a day or two. When he was four years old, he had a terrible typhoid pneumonia in Paris, and lay at the point of death for three weeks; but he never was seriously ill again until his mortal sickness. In spite of a certain bodily delicacy, being light and long of limb, he could outwalk many people of apparently greater vigor; and he could travel by night-trains and work by day with surprising endurance —even with enjoyment. He was comparatively indifferent to heat and cold, provided he were in the open air. Long walks across country, through woods, bogs and thickets, were always delightful to him, summer or winter. He rode well; but walking was what he most enjoyed; because so he could best see the prospects and the vegetation. His sports were walking, riding, rowing, and sailing, in all of which he was proficient. The occasional, inevitable risks encountered in these pursuits he met

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without the least perturbation; but the source of his pleasure was not in the risks. Both in Europe and America he would wander alone in any wilderness, or rough, solitary place, without a thought of possible danger. He never had occasion to hurt or kill any living creature in the pursuit of his own pleasures. On the contrary, the animal life in the woods and thickets was to him a source of genuine delight; and he wanted to have it all preserved unmolested, except creatures indubitably noxious. He liked to be driven in open vehicles; but he was a bad driver himself, because his attention constantly wandered to the scenery or to the objects by the roadside. He could work all day in his office, or in the field, and in the evening speak at a hearing in Cambridge or Watertown on the improvement of Charles River, or at some Citizens' Association or Trade Club which wished to hear something about parks. In short, although rather frail in aspect, and never fit for any of the severe athletic sports, he had an available kind of toughness which served well his intellectual life.

Mentally, his constitution was of the best. His school life was not so happy as it should have been, because the traditional subjects of instruction—at that time the only road to college—were uncongenial to him; but as soon as he reached subjects he was fit to master, study became an enjoyment. He worked intently and rapidly, but not at long stretches, unless in the open air. His observation was quick and decided, and his inferences from what he observed were unerring. In writing or speaking he was clear, concise, and consecutive,

never wandering about, or amplifying unnecessarily, or missing the main point. The pictures with which observation and reading had filled his mind were distinct, and he recalled them distinctly at will. Moreover, his style in narrative or description has occasionally a charming imaginative, or poetic touch. His memory was not remarkable for languages or history; but for places, scenes, and roads, for ledges, harbor approaches, and landings, for spots where Rhodora, Linnæa, or Clethra grows, or for a grove of thrifty Pines or a mass of hardy Magnolias, his mental memoranda were indelible. These faculties stood him in good stead during the ten years of his active professional life; but there was another gift which presided over them all—the artistic sense of fitness, perspective, and proportion. He had from his mother the artist's imagination, which makes new combinations out of familiar elements, foresees beauty, and through prophetic designs ultimately reveals to ordinary eyes the artist's visions.

The most serviceable of Charles's powers, however, were neither physical nor mental, but spiritual. He brought to pass in ten crowded, youthful years an astonishing number of good things very difficult of attainment, because requiring legislation and the consent of many minds and wills. He succeeded in these enterprises because of his moral qualities. He was obviously thorough in knowledge of his subject, disinterested, reasonable, and fair-minded. He was also gentle though persistent, and modest though confident. In most of his undertakings he had to do with men much older than himself, who

had achieved distinction in other fields than his, and were comparatively ignorant of his own. His relations with these older men were invariably pleasant, even when he could not bring them immediately to his views. Thus, the Metropolitan Park Commission, in the resolution passed after his death, spoke not only of his skill, knowledge, and constant connection with their work, but also of his character and temper, "which made him a delightful companion and co-laborer." Before popular audiences he was singularly persuasive, although his way of speaking was quiet and unadorned. It made no difference whether his audience was composed of Provincetown fishermen and traders, or dwellers in a rich suburb like Newton, or the well-to-do members of a trade association, or the interested men and women that gather in the committee-rooms of the Massachusetts legislature, —all alike were impressed with the reasonableness of the measures he advocated, and the soundness of the arguments by which he supported them. Dr. Walcott, chairman of the Joint Board of 1893-94 on the Improvement of Charles River, who accompanied Charles to many hearings and public meetings on that subject at the State House and in the cities and towns on the river, said that Charles was the most persuasive speaker he had ever listened to; and during his long public service he had listened to many speakers, famous and obscure, who needed and wished to be persuasive. This persuasiveness was just as apparent in a small company, like the Metropolitan Park Commission, or a board of selectmen, or a committee of the legislature, as in a

ST. JOHN FISHER COLLEGE LIBRARY

large assemblage, and often more immediately influential. It resulted from mastery of his subject and clearness in presenting it, from fairness in argument, and from a pleasantness, modesty, and gentleness in which there was no trace of weakness. He had plenty of firm insistence, but was never party to a quarrel or a bitter controversy. He was equally happy in dealing with men and women who were under his authority or supervision. In the last four years of his life these were numerous. They all felt that he was considerate, friendly, and gentle; that he knew what he wanted; and that their time and labor would not be wasted while working under his direction. He inspired them with something of his own enthusiasm and devotion, and made them feel that their work served high ends.

Such were the sources of Charles's professional success. Here was an active, interesting, and productive career, whose methods and fruits were all good; in it all, no evil preliminary to good, nothing harsh or coarse on the way to the sweet and fine, no selfishness or injustice as preparation for love and equity. Nothing but good, and much good, came of his labors.

The Standing Committee of the Trustees of Public Reservations, at a meeting held the day after Charles's death, summed up his services to Massachusetts in these words: "Charles Eliot found in this community a generous but helpless sentiment for the preservation of our historical and beautiful places. By ample knowledge, by intelligent perseverance, by eloquent teaching, he created organiza-

tions capable of accomplishing his great purposes, and inspired others with a zeal approaching his own."

In domestic life the same good sense and good feeling developed pure happiness, unalloyed except by inevitable external vicissitudes. He was habitually somewhat reticent and self-contained; but at home, or among intimates, a look, a word or two, or a touch, could suddenly express quiet content, or pleased satisfaction, or the warmest love and devotion. Nothing could exceed the serenity and unity of the family life into which death broke so suddenly on the 25th of March, 1897.

Charles was by temperament reflective, sympathetic, and affectionate, and he had an inquiring mind, which sought causes and uniform sequences; he was, therefore, naturally religious, but not in any emotional, conventional, or ecclesiastical sense. The institutions of religion, as a whole, he thought indispensable to society; but many of the forms and observances which he saw were grateful to others, he himself merely endured with patience, for they were to him unprofitable. His religious affiliations —like those of all his near kindred for three generations—were with the Unitarian Church. His creed was short and simple. He believed that a loving God rules the universe, that the path to loving and serving Him lies through loving and serving men, and that the way to worship Him is to reverence the earthly beauty, truth, and goodness He has brought forth.

The character which shines through these pages is of a kind seldom described in poetry or fiction

—perhaps because it is transparent, natural, and harmonious. It was not passionate,—calm, rather, and reserved; yet it had all the fire needed to warm mind and heart to great work and the sweetest affections.

1902

FRANKLIN

THE facts about Franklin as a printer are simple and plain, but impressive. His father, respecting the boy's strong disinclination to become a tallow-chandler, selected the printer's trade for him, after giving him opportunities to see members of several different trades at their work, and considering the boy's own tastes and aptitudes. It was at twelve years of age that Franklin signed indentures as an apprentice to his older brother James, who was already an established printer. By the time he was seventeen years old he had mastered the trade in all its branches so completely that he could venture, with hardly any money in his pocket, first into New York and then into Philadelphia without a friend or acquaintance in either place, and yet succeed promptly in earning his living. He knew all departments of the business. He was a pressman as well as a compositor. He understood both news-

An address delivered before the meeting of the American Philosophical Society to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, April 20, 1906. The year 1903 was the centenary of Washington, Channing, and Emerson. The address on Washington was delivered before the Union League Club, Chicago, on February 23; that on Channing at the unveiling of the Channing statue, Boston, June 1; that on Emerson, in Boston on May 24. The four addresses were published under the title "Four American Leaders." Copyright, 1906, American Unitarian Association. Reprinted by permission of The Beacon Press.

paper and book work. There were at that time no such sharp subdivisions of labor and no such elaborate machinery as exist in the trade to-day; and Franklin could do with his own eyes and hands, long before he was of age, everything which the printer's art was then equal to. When the faithless Governor Keith caused Franklin to land in London without any resources whatever except his skill at his trade, the youth was fully capable of supporting himself in the great city as a printer. Franklin had been induced by the governor to go to England, where he was to buy a complete outfit for a good printing office to be set up in Philadelphia. He had already presented the governor with an inventory of the materials needed in a small printing office, and was competent to make a critical selection of all these materials; yet when he arrived in London on this errand he was only eighteen years old. Thrown completely on his own resources in the great city, he immediately got work at a famous printing house in Bartholomew Close, but soon moved to a still larger printing house, in which he remained during the rest of his stay in London. Here he worked as a pressman at first, but was soon transferred to the composing room, evidently excelling his comrades in both branches of the art. The customary drink money was demanded of him, first by the pressmen with whom he was associated, and afterwards by the compositors. Franklin undertook to resist the second demand; and it is interesting to learn that after a resistance of three weeks he was forced to yield to the demands of the men by just such measures as

are now used against any scab in a unionized printing office. He says in his autobiography: "I had so many little pieces of private mischief done me by mixing my sorts, transposing my pages, breaking my matter, and so forth, if I were ever so little out of the room . . . that, notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself obliged to comply and pay the money, convinced of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually." He was stronger than any of his mates, kept his head clearer because he did not fuddle it with beer, and availed himself of the liberty which then existed of working as fast and as much as he chose. On this point he says: "My constant attendance (I never making a St. Monday) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon all work of dispatch, which was generally better paid. So I went on now very agreeably."

On his return to Philadelphia Franklin obtained for a few months another occupation than that of printer; but this employment failing through the death of his employer, Franklin returned to printing, becoming the manager of a small printing office, in which he was the only skilled workman and was expected to teach several green hands. At that time he was only twenty-one years of age. This printing office often wanted sorts, and there was no type-foundry in America. Franklin succeeded in contriving a mould, struck the matrices in lead, and thus supplied the deficiencies of the office. The autobiography says: "I also engraved several

things on occasion; I made the ink; I was warehouse man and everything, and in short quite a factotum." Nevertheless, he was dismissed before long by his incompetent employer, who, however, was glad to re-engage him a few days later on obtaining a job to print some paper money for New Jersey. Thereupon Franklin contrived a copper-plate press for this job—the first that had been seen in the country—and cut the ornaments for the bills. Meantime Franklin, with one of the apprentices, had ordered a press and types from London, that they two might set up an independent office. Shortly after the New Jersey job was finished, these materials arrived in Philadelphia, and Franklin immediately opened his own printing office. His partner "was, however, no compositor, a poor pressman, and seldom sober." The office prospered, and in July, 1730, when Franklin was twenty-four years old, the partnership was dissolved, and Franklin was at the head of a well-established and profitable printing business. This business was the foundation of Franklin's fortune; and better foundation no man could desire. His industry was extraordinary. Contrary to the current opinion, Dr. Baird of St. Andrews testified that the new printing office would succeed, "for the industry of that Franklin," he said, "is superior to anything I ever saw of the kind; I see him still at work when I go home from the club, and he is at work again before the neighbors are out of bed." No trade rules or customs limited or levied toll on his productiveness. He speedily became by far the most successful printer in all the colonies, and in twenty

years was able to retire from active business with a competency.

One would, however, get a wrong impression of Franklin's career as a printer, if he failed to observe that from his boyhood Franklin constantly used his connection with a printing office to facilitate his remarkable work as an author, editor, and publisher. Even while he was an apprentice to his brother James he succeeded in getting issued from his brother's press ballads and newspaper articles of which he was the anonymous author. When he had a press of his own he used it for publishing a newspaper, an almanac, and numerous essays composed or compiled by himself. His genius as a writer supported his skill and industry as a printer.

The second part of the double subject assigned to me is Franklin as philosopher. The philosophy he taught and illustrated related to four perennial subjects of human interest—education, natural science, politics, and morals. I propose to deal in that order with these four topics.

Franklin's philosophy of education was elaborated as he grew up, and was applied to himself throughout his life. In the first place, he had no regular education of the usual sort. He studied and read with an extraordinary diligence from his earliest years; but he studied only the subjects which attracted him, or which he himself believed would be good for him, and throughout life he pursued only those inquiries for pursuing which he found within himself an adequate motive. The most important element in his training was reading, for which he had a precocious desire which was im-

perative, and proved to be lasting. His opportunities to get books were scanty; but he seized on all such opportunities, and fortunately he early came upon the "Pilgrim's Progress," the Spectator, Plutarch, Xenophon's "Memorabilia," and Locke "On the Human Understanding." Practice of English composition was the next agency in Franklin's education; and his method—quite of his own invention—was certainly an admirable one. He would make brief notes of the thoughts contained in a good piece of writing, and lay these notes aside for several days; then, without looking at the book, he would endeavor to express these thoughts in his own words as fully as they had been expressed in the original paper. Lastly, he would compare his product with the original, thus discovering his shortcomings and errors. To improve his vocabulary he turned specimens of prose into verse, and later, when he had forgotten the original, turned the verse back again into prose. This exercise enlarged his vocabulary and his acquaintance with synonyms and their different shades of meaning, and showed him how he could twist phrases and sentences about. His times for such exercises and for reading were at night after work, before work in the morning, and on Sundays. This severe training he imposed on himself; and he was well advanced in it before he was sixteen years of age. His memory and his imagination must both have served him well; for he not only acquired a style fit for narrative, exposition, or argument, but also learned to use the fable, parable, paraphrase, proverb, and dialogue. The third element in his education was

writing for publication; he began very early, while he was still a young boy, to put all he had learned to use in writing for the press. When he was but nineteen years old he wrote and published in London "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." In after years he was not proud of this pamphlet; but it was, nevertheless, a remarkable production for a youth of nineteen. So soon as he was able to establish a newspaper in Philadelphia he wrote for it with great spirit, and in a style at once accurate, concise, and attractive, making immediate application of his reading and of the conversation of intelligent acquaintances on both sides of the ocean. His fourth principle of education was that it should continue through life, and should make use of the social instincts. To that end he thought that friends and acquaintances might fitly band together in a systematic endeavor after mutual improvement. The Junto was created as a school of philosophy, morality, and politics; and this purpose it actually served for many years. Some of the questions read at every meeting of the Junto, with a pause after each one, would be curiously opportune in such a society at the present day. For example, No. 5, "Have you lately heard how any present rich man, here or elsewhere, got his estate?" And No. 6, "Do you know of a fellow-citizen . . . who has lately committed an error proper for us to be warned against and avoid?" When a new member was initiated he was asked, among other questions, the following: "Do you think any person ought to be harmed in his body, name, or goods, for mere speculative

opinions or his external way of worship?" and again, "Do you love truth for truth's sake, and will you endeavor impartially to find it, receive it yourself, and communicate it to others?" The Junto helped to educate Franklin, and he helped greatly to train all its members.

The nature of Franklin's own education accounts for many of his opinions on the general subject. Thus, he believed, contrary to the judgment of his time, that Latin and Greek were not essential subjects in a liberal education, and that mathematics, in which he never excelled, did not deserve the place it held. He believed that any one who had acquired a command of good English could learn any other modern language that he really needed when he needed it; and this faith he illustrated in his own person, for he learned French, when he needed it, sufficiently well to enable him to exercise great influence for many years at the French court. As the fruit of his education he exhibited a clear, pungent, persuasive English style, both in writing and in conversation—a style which gave him great and lasting influence among men. It is easy to say that such a training as Franklin's is suitable only for genius. Be that as it may, Franklin's philosophy of education certainly tells in favor of liberty for the individual in his choice of studies, and teaches that a desire for good reading and a capacity to write well are two very important fruits of any liberal culture. It was all at the service of his successor Jefferson, the founder of the University of Virginia.

Franklin's studies in natural philosophy are

characterized by remarkable directness, patience, and inventiveness, absolute candor in seeking the truth, and a powerful scientific imagination. What has been usually considered his first discovery was the now familiar fact that northeast storms on the Atlantic coast begin to leeward. The Pennsylvania fireplace he invented was an ingenious application to the warming and ventilating of an apartment of the laws that regulate the movement of hot air. At the age of forty-one he became interested in the subject of electricity, and with the aid of many friends and acquaintances pursued the subject for four years, with no thought about personal credit for inventing either theories or processes, but simply with delight in experimentation and in efforts to explain the phenomena he observed. His kite experiment to prove lightning to be an electrical phenomenon very possibly did not really draw lightning from the cloud; but it supplied evidence of electrical energy in the atmosphere which went far to prove that lightning was an electrical discharge. The sagacity of Franklin's scientific inquiries is well illustrated by his notes on colds and their causes. He maintains that influenzas usually classed as colds do not arise, as a rule, from either cold or dampness. He points out that savages and sailors, who are often wet, do not catch cold, and that the disease called a cold is not taken by swimming. He maintains that people who live in the forest, in open barns, or with open windows, do not catch cold, and that the disease called a cold is generally caused by impure air, lack of exercise, or overeating. He comes to the conclusion that

influenzas and colds are contagious—a doctrine which, a century and a half later, was proved, through the advance of bacteriological science, to be sound. The following sentence exhibits remarkable insight, considering the state of medical art at that time: "I have long been satisfied from observation, that besides the general colds now termed influenzas (which may possibly spread by contagion, as well as by a particular quality of the air), people often catch cold from one another when shut up together in close rooms and coaches, and when sitting near and conversing so as to breathe in each other's transpiration; the disorder being in a certain state." In the light of present knowledge what a cautious and exact statement is that!

There being no learned society in all America at the time, Franklin's scientific experiments were almost all recorded in letters written to interested friends; and he was never in any haste to write these letters. He never took a patent on any of his inventions, and made no effort either to get a profit from them, or to establish any sort of intellectual proprietorship in his experiments and speculations. One of his English correspondents, Mr. Collinson, published in 1751 a number of Franklin's letters to him in a pamphlet called "New Experiments and Observations in Electricity made at Philadelphia in America." This pamphlet was translated into several European languages, and established over the continent—particularly in France—Franklin's reputation as a natural philosopher. A great variety of phenomena engaged his attention, such as phosphorescence in sea water,

the cause of the saltness of the sea, the form and the temperatures of the Gulf Stream, the effect of oil in stilling waves, and the cause of smoky chimneys. Franklin also reflected and wrote on many topics which are now classified under the head of political economy,—such as paper currency, national wealth, free trade, the slave trade, the effects of luxury and idleness, and the misery and destruction caused by war. Not even his caustic wit could adequately convey in words his contempt and abhorrence for war as a mode of settling questions arising between nations. He condensed his opinions on that subject into the epigram: "There never was a good war or a bad peace."

Franklin's political philosophy may all be summed up in seven words—"first freedom, then public happiness and comfort." The spirit of liberty was born in him. He resented his brother's blows when he was an apprentice, and escaped from them. As a mere boy he refused to attend church on Sundays in accordance with the custom of his family and his town, and devoted his Sundays to reading and study. In practising his trade he claimed and diligently sought complete freedom. In public and private business alike he tried to induce people to take any action desired of them by presenting to them a motive they could understand and feel —a motive which acted on their own wills and excited their hopes. This is the only method possible under a régime of liberty. A perfect illustration of his practice in this respect is found in his successful provision of one hundred and fifty four-horse wagons for Braddock's force, when it was de-

tained on its march from Annapolis to western Pennsylvania by the lack of wagons. The military method would have been to seize horses, wagons, and drivers wherever found. Franklin persuaded Braddock, instead of using force, to allow him (Franklin) to offer a good hire for horses, wagons, and drivers, and proper compensation for the equipment in case of loss. By this appeal to the frontier farmers of Pennsylvania he secured in two weeks all the transportation required. To defend public order Franklin was perfectly ready to use public force, as, for instance, when he raised and commanded a regiment of militia to defend the northwestern frontier from the Indians after Braddock's defeat, and again, when it became necessary to defend Philadelphia from a large body of frontiersmen who had lynched a considerable number of friendly Indians, and were bent on revolutionizing the Quaker government. But his abhorrence of all war was based on the facts, first, that during war the law must be silent, and, secondly, that military discipline, which is essential for effective fighting, annihilates individual liberty. "Those," he said, "who would give up essential liberty for the sake of a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." The foundation of his firm resistance on behalf of the colonies to the English Parliament was his impregnable conviction that the love of liberty was the ruling passion of the people of the colonies. In 1766 he said of the American people: "Every act of oppression will sour their tempers, lessen greatly, if not annihilate, the profits of your commerce with them, and hasten their final

revolt; for the seeds of liberty are universally found there, and nothing can eradicate them." Because they loved liberty, they would not be taxed without representation; they would not have soldiers quartered on them, or their governors made independent of the people in regard to their salaries; or their ports closed, or their commerce regulated by Parliament. It is interesting to observe how Franklin's experiments and speculations in natural science often had a favorable influence on freedom of thought. His studies in economics had a strong tendency in that direction. His views about religious toleration were founded on his intense faith in civil liberty; and even his demonstration that lightning was an electrical phenomenon brought deliverance for mankind from an ancient terror. It removed from the domain of the supernatural a manifestation of formidable power that had been supposed to be a weapon of the arbitrary gods; and since it increased man's power over nature, it increased his freedom.

This faith in freedom was fully developed in Franklin long before the American Revolution and the French Revolution made the fundamental principles of liberty familiar to civilized mankind. His views concerning civil liberty were even more remarkable for his time than his views concerning religious liberty; but they were not developed in a passionate nature inspired by an enthusiastic idealism. He was the very embodiment of common sense, moderation, and sober honesty. His standard of human society is perfectly expressed in the description of New England which he wrote in

1772: "I thought often of the happiness in New England, where every man is a freeholder, has a vote in public affairs, lives in a tidy, warm house, has plenty of good food and fuel, with whole clothes from head to foot, the manufacture perhaps of his own family. Long may they continue in this situation!" Such was Franklin's conception of a free and happy people. Such was his political philosophy.

The moral philosophy of Franklin consisted almost exclusively in the inculcation of certain very practical and unimaginative virtues, such as temperance, frugality, industry, moderation, cleanliness, and tranquillity. Sincerity and justice, and resolution—that indispensable fly-wheel of virtuous habit—are found in his table of virtues; but all his moral precepts seem to be based on observation and experience of life, and to express his convictions concerning what is profitable, prudent, and on the whole satisfactory in the life that now is. His philosophy is a guide of life, because it searches out virtues, and so provides the means of expelling vices. It may reasonably determine conduct. It did determine Franklin's conduct to a remarkable degree, and has had a prodigious influence for good on his countrymen and on civilized mankind. Nevertheless, it omits all consideration of the prime motive power, which must impel to right conduct, as fire supplies the power which actuates the engine. That motive power is pure, unselfish love—love to God and love to man. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . . and thy neighbor as thyself."

Franklin never seems to have perceived that the supreme tests of civilization are the tender and honorable treatment of women as equals, and the sanctity of home life. There was one primary virtue on his list which he did not always practise. His failures in this respect diminished his influence for good among his contemporaries, and must always qualify the admiration with which mankind will regard him as a moral philosopher and an exhorter to a good life. His sagacity, intellectual force, versatility, originality, firmness, fortunate period of service, and longevity combined to make him a great leader of his people. In American public affairs the generation of wise leaders next to his own felt for him high admiration and respect; and the strong republic, whose birth and youthful growth he witnessed, will carry down his fame as political philosopher, patriot, and apostle of liberty through long generations.

1906

WASHINGTON

THE virtues of Washington were of two kinds, the splendid and the homely; I adopt, for my part in this celebration, some consideration of Washington as a man of homely virtues, giving our far-removed generation a homely example.

The first contrast to which I invite your attention is the contrast between the early age at which Washington began to profit by the discipline of real life and the late age at which our educated young men exchange study under masters, and seclusion in institutions of learning, for personal adventure and responsibility out in the world. Washington was a public surveyor at sixteen years of age. He could not spell well; but he could make a correct survey, keep a good journal, and endure the hardships to which a surveyor in the Virginia wilderness was inevitably exposed. Our expectation of good service and hard work from boys of sixteen, not to speak of young men of twenty-six, is very low. I have heard it maintained in a learned college faculty that young men who were on the average nineteen years of age, were not fit to begin the study of economics or philosophy, even under the guidance of skilful teachers, and that no young man could nowadays begin the practice of a profession to advantage before he was twenty-six or twenty-seven years old.

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Now, Washington was at twenty-one the Governor of Virginia's messenger to the French forts beyond the Alleghanies. He was already an accomplished woodman, an astute negotiator with savages and the French, and the cautious yet daring leader of a company of raw, insubordinate frontiersmen, who were to advance 500 miles into a wilderness with nothing but an Indian trail to follow. In 1755, at twenty-three years of age, twenty years before the Revolutionary War broke out, he was a skilful and experienced fighter, and a colonel in the Virginia service. What a contrast to our college undergraduates of to-day, who at twenty-two years of age are still getting their bodily vigor through sports and not through real work, and who seldom seem to realize that, just as soon as they have acquired the use of the intellectual tools and stock with which a livelihood is to be earned in business or in the professions, the training of active life is immeasurably better than the training of the schools! Yet Washington never showed at any age the least spark of genius; he was only "sober, sensible, honest, and brave," as he said of Major-General Lincoln in 1791.

By inheritance and by marriage Washington became, while he was still young, one of the richest men in the country; but what a contrast between his sort of riches and our sorts! He was a planter and sportsman—a country gentleman. All his home days were spent in looking after his farms; in breeding various kinds of domestic animals; in fishing for profit; in attending to the diseases and accidents which befall livestock, including slaves; in erecting

buildings, and repairing them; in caring for or improving his mills, barns, farm implements, and tools. He always lived very close to nature, and from his boyhood studied the weather, the markets, his crops and woods, and the various qualities of his lands. He was an economical husbandman, attending to all the details of the management of his large estates. He was constantly on horseback, often riding fifteen miles on his daily rounds. At sixty-seven years of age he caught the cold which killed him by getting wet on horseback, riding as usual about his farms.

Compare this sort of life, physical and mental, with the life of the ordinary rich American of to-day, who has made his money in stocks and bonds, or as a banker, broker, or trader, or in the management of great transportation or industrial concerns. This modern rich man, in all probability, has nothing whatever to do with nature or with country life. He is soft and tender in body; lives in the city; takes no vigorous exercise, and has very little personal contact with the elemental forces of either nature or mankind. He is not like Washington an out-of-door man. Washington was a combination of land-owner, magistrate, and soldier,—the best combination for a leader of men which the feudal system produced. Our modern rich man is apt to possess no one of these functions, any one of which, well discharged, has in times past commanded the habitual respect of mankind. It is a grave misfortune for our country, and especially for our rich men, that the modern forms of property,—namely, stocks and bonds, mortgages, and

city buildings—do not carry with them any inevitable responsibilities to the state, or involve their owner in personal risks and charges as a leader or commander of the people. The most enviable rich man to-day is the intelligent industrial or commercial adventurer or promoter, in the good sense of those terms. He takes risks and assumes burdens on a large scale, and has a chance to develop will, mind, and character, just as Queen Elizabeth's adventurers did all over the then known world.

Again, Washington, as I have already indicated, was an economical person, careful about little expenditures as well as great, averse to borrowing money, and utterly impatient of waste. If a slave were hopelessly ill, he did not call a doctor, because it would be a useless expenditure. He insisted that the sewing woman, Carolina, who had only made five shirts in a week, not being sick, should make nine. He entered in his account "thread and needle, one penny," and used said thread and needle himself. All this closeness and contempt for shiftlessness and prodigality were perfectly consistent with a large and hospitable way of living; for during many years of his life he kept open house at Mt. Vernon. This frugal and prudent man knew exactly what it meant to devote his "life and fortune to the cause we are engaged in, if needful," as he wrote in 1774. This was not an exaggerated or emotional phrase. It was moderate, but it meant business. He risked his whole fortune. What he lost through his service in the Revolutionary War is clearly stated in a letter written from Mt. Vernon in 1784: "I made no money from my estate

during the nine years I was absent from it, and brought none home with me. Those who owed me, for the most part, took advantage of the depreciation, and paid me off with six-pence in the pound. Those to whom I was indebted, I have yet to pay, without other means, if they will wait, than selling part of my estate, or distressing those who were too honest to take advantage of the tender laws to quit scores with me." Should we not all be glad if to-day a hundred or two multi-millionaires could give such an account as that of their losses incurred in the public service, even if they had not, like Washington, risked their lives as well? In our times we have come to think that a rich man should not be frugal or economical, but rather wasteful or extravagant. We have even been asked to believe that a cheap coat makes a cheap man. If there were a fixed relation between a man's character and the price of his clothes, what improvement we should have seen in the national character since 1893! At Harvard University, twelve hundred students take three meals a day in the great dining-room of Memorial Hall, and manage the business themselves through an elected President and Board of Directors. These officers proscribe stews, apparently because it is a form in which cheap meat may be offered them, neglecting the more important fact that the stew is the most nutritious and digestible form in which meats can be eaten. Mr. Edward Atkinson, the economist, invented an oven in which various kinds of foods may be cheaply and well prepared with a minimum of attention to the process. The workingmen, among whom he at-

tempted to introduce it, took no interest in it whatever, because it was recommended to them as a cheap way of preparing inexpensive though excellent foods. This modern temper affords a most striking contrast to the practices and sentiments of Washington, sentiments and practices which underlay his whole public life as well as his private life.

If he were alive to-day, would he not be bewildered by much of our talk about the rights of men and animals? Washington's mind dwelt very little on rights and very much on duties. For him, patriotism was a duty; good citizenship was a duty; and for the masses of mankind it was a duty to clear away the forest, till the ground, and plant fruit trees, just as he prescribed to the hoped-for tenants on his Ohio and Kanawha lands. For men and women in general he thought it a duty to increase and multiply, and to make the wilderness glad with rustling crops, lowing herds, and children's voices. When he retired from the Presidency, he expressed the hope that he might "make and sell a little flour annually." For the first soldier and first statesman of his country, surely this was a modest anticipation of continued usefulness. We think more about our rights than our duties. He thought more about his duties than his rights. Posterity has given him first place because of the way in which he conceived and performed his duties; it will judge the leaders of the present generation by the same standard, whatever their theories about human rights.

Having said thus much about contrasts, let me now turn to some interesting resemblances between Washington's times and our own. We may notice

in the first place the permanency of the fighting quality in the English-American stock. Washington was all his life a fighter. The entire American people is to-day a fighting people, prone to resort to force and prompt to take arms, the different sections of the population differing chiefly in regard to the nature and amount of the provocation which will move them to violence and combat. To this day nothing moves the admiration of the people so quickly as composure, ingenuity, and success in fighting; so that even in political contests all the terms and similes are drawn from war, and among American sports the most popular have in them a large element of combat. Washington was roused and stimulated by the dangers of the battlefield, and utterly despised cowards, or even men who ran away in battle from a momentary terror which they did not habitually manifest. His early experience taught him, however, that the Indian way of fighting in woods or on broken ground was the most effective way; and he did not hesitate to adopt and advocate that despised mode of fighting, which has now, one hundred and fifty years later, become the only possible mode. The Indian in battle took instantly to cover, if he could find it. In our Civil War both sides learned to throw up breastworks wherever they expected an engagement to take place; and the English in South Africa have demonstrated that the only possible way to fight with the present long range quick-firing guns, is the way in which the "treacherous devils," as Washington called the Indians, fought General Braddock, that is, with stratagem, surprise, and ambuscade; with

hiding and crawling behind screens and obstacles; with the least possible appearance in open view, with nothing that can glitter on either arms or clothes, and with no visible distinction between officers and men. War is now a genuinely Indian performance, just as Washington saw one hundred and fifty years ago that it ought to be.

The silent Washington's antipathy to the press finds an exact parallel in our own day. He called the writers of the press "infamous scribblers." President Cleveland called them "ghouls." But it must be confessed that the newspapers of Washington's time surpassed those of the present day in violence of language, and in lack of prophetic insight and just appreciation of men and events. When Washington retired from the Presidency the *Aurora* said, "If ever a Nation was debauched by a man, the American Nation has been debauched by Washington."

Some of the weaknesses or errors of the Congresses of Washington's time have been repeated in our own day, and seem as natural to us as they doubtless seemed to the men of 1776 and 1796. Thus, the Continental Congress incurred all the evils of a depreciated currency with the same blindness which afflicted the Congress of the Southern Confederacy and the Union Congress during the Civil War, or the Democrat-Populist party of still more recent times. The refusal of the Congress of 1777 to carry out the agreement made with the Hessian prisoners at Saratoga reminds one of the refusal of Congress, in spite of the public exhortations of our present Executive, and his cabinet, to

carry out the understanding with Cuba in regard to the commercial relations of the island with the United States. In both cases the honor of the country was tarnished.

The intensity of party spirit in Washington's time closely resembles that of our own day, but was certainly fiercer than it is now, the reason being that the questions at issue were absolutely fundamental. When the question was whether the Constitution of the United States was a sure defence for freedom or a trap to ensnare an unsuspecting people, intensity of feeling on both sides was well-nigh inevitable. During Washington's two administrations a considerable number of the most eminent American publicists feared that dangerous autocratic powers had been conferred on the President by the Constitution. Washington held that there was no ground for these fears, and acted as if the supposition was absurd. When the question was whether we should love and adhere to revolutionary France, or rather become partisans of Great Britain—the power from which we had just won independence—it is no wonder that political passions burnt fiercely. On this question Washington stood between the opposing parties, and often commended himself to neither. In spite of the tremendous partisan heat of the times, Washington, through both his administrations, made appointments to public office from both parties indifferently. He appointed some well-known Tories and many Democrats. He insisted only on fitness as regards character, ability, and experience, and preferred persons, of whatever party, who had already

proved their capacity in business or the professions, or in legislative or administrative offices. It is a striking fact that Washington is the only one of the Presidents of the United States who has, as a rule, acted on these principles. His example was not followed by his early successors, or by any of the more recent occupants of the Presidency. His successors, elected by a party, have not seen their way to make appointments without regard to party connections. The Civil Service Reform agitation of the last twenty-five years is nothing but an effort to return, in regard to the humbler national offices, to the practice of President Washington.

In spite of these resemblances between Washington's time and our own, the profound contrasts make the resemblances seem unimportant. In the first years of the Government of the United States there was widespread and genuine apprehension lest the executive should develop too much power, and lest the centralization of the Government should become overwhelming. Nothing can be farther from our political thoughts to-day than this dread of the power of the national executive. On the contrary, we are constantly finding that it is feeble where we wish it were strong, impotent where we wish it omnipotent. The Senate of the United States has deprived the President of much of the power intended for his office, and has then found it, on the whole, convenient and desirable to allow itself to be held up by any one of its members who possesses the bodily strength and the assurance to talk or read aloud by the week. Other forces have developed within the Republic quite outside of the

Government, which seem to us to override and almost defy the closely limited governmental forces. Quite lately we have seen two of these new forces —one a combination of capitalists, the other a combination of laborers—put the President of the United States into a position of a mediator between two parties whom he could not control, and with whom he must intercede. This is part of the tremendous nineteenth century democratic revolution, and of the newly acquired facilities for combination and association for the promotion of common interests. We no longer dread abuse of the power of state or church; we do dread abuse of the powers of compact bodies of men, highly organized and consenting to be despotically ruled, for the advancement of their selfish interests.

Washington was a stern disciplinarian in war; if he could not shoot deserters he wanted them "stoutly whipped." He thought that army officers should be of a different class from their men, and should never put themselves on an equality with their men; he went himself to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794, and always believed that firm government was essential to freedom. He never could have imagined for a moment the toleration of disorder and violence which is now exhibited everywhere in our country when a serious strike occurs. He was the chief actor through the long struggles, military and civil, which attended the birth of this nation, and took the gravest responsibilities which could then fall to the lot of soldiers or statesmen; but he never encountered, and indeed never imagined, the anxieties and dangers which

now beset the Republic of which he was the founder. We face new difficulties. Shall we face them with Washington's courage, wisdom, and success?

Finally, I ask your attention to the striking contrast between the wealth of Washington and the poverty of Abraham Lincoln, the only one of the succeeding Presidents who won anything like the place in the popular heart that Washington has always occupied. Washington, while still young, was one of the richest men in the country; Lincoln, while young, was one of the poorest; both rendered supreme service to their country and to freedom; between these two extremes men of many degrees as regards property holding have occupied the Presidency, the majority of them being men of moderate means. The lesson to be drawn from these facts seems to be that the Republic can be greatly served by rich and poor alike, but has oftenest been served creditably by men who were neither rich nor poor. In the midst of the present conflicts between employers and employed, between the classes that are already well to do and the classes who believe it to be the fault of the existing order that they too are not well to do, and in plain sight of the fact that democratic freedom permits the creation and perpetuation of greater differences as regards possessions than the world has ever known before, it is comforting to remember that true patriots and wise men are bred in all the social levels of a free commonwealth, and that the Republic may find in any condition of life safe leaders and just rulers. *1903*

CHANNING

We commemorate to-day a great preacher. It is the fashion to say that preaching is a thing of the past, other influences having taken its place. But Boston knows better; for she had two great preachers in the nineteenth century, and is sure that an immense and enduring force was theirs, and through them, hers. Channing and Brooks! Men very unlike in body and mind, but preachers of like tendency and influence from their common love of freedom and faith in mankind. This city has learned by rich experience that preaching becomes the most productive of all human works the moment the adequate preacher appears—a noble man with a noble message. Such was Channing.

His public work was preceded and accompanied by a great personal achievement. All his life he grew in spirit, becoming always freer, broader, and more sympathetic. In forty years he worked his way out of moderate Calvinism without the Trinity into such doctrines as these:—"the idea of God . . . is the idea of our own spiritual natures purified and enlarged to infinity." "The sense of duty is the greatest gift of God. The idea of right is the primary and highest revelation of God to the human mind; and all outward revelations are founded on and addressed to it." There is "but one object of cherished and enduring love in heaven

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or on earth, and that is moral goodness." "I do and I must reverence human nature. . . . I honor it for its struggles against oppression, for its growth and progress under the weight of so many chains and prejudices, for its achievements in science and art, and still more for its examples of heroic and saintly virtue. These are marks of a divine origin and pledges of a celestial inheritance." "Perfection is man's proper and natural goal." What an immense distance between these doctrines of Channing's maturity and the Calvinism of his youth! He was a meditative, reflecting man, who read much, but took selected thoughts of others into the very substance and fibre of his being, and made them his own. The foundation of his professional power and public influence was this great personal achievement, this attuning of his own soul to noblest harmonies.

Thousands of ministers and spiritually-minded laymen of many denominations have travelled since Channing's death the road he laid out, and so have been delivered from the inhuman doctrines of the fall of man, the wrath of God, vicarious atonement, everlasting hell for the majority, and the rescue of a predestined few. They should all join in giving heartfelt praise and thanks to Channing, who thought out clearly, and preached with fervid reiteration, the doctrines which have delivered them from a painful bondage.

Another remarkable quality of Channing's teachings is their universality. Men of learning and spirituality in all the civilized nations have welcomed his words, and found in them teachings of

enduring and expansive influence. Many Biblical scholars, in the technical sense, have arrived eighty years later at Channing's conclusions about the essential features of Christianity, although Channing was no scholar in the modern sense; while they go far beyond him in treating the Bible as a collection of purely human writings and in rejecting the so-called supernatural quality of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Indeed, many Biblical scholars belonging to-day to evangelical sects have arrived not only at Channing's position, but also at Emerson's.

Just how much Channing's published works have had to do with this quiet but fateful revolution no man can tell. The most eminent to-day of American Presbyterian divines preached an excellent sermon in the Harvard College Chapel one Sunday evening not many years ago, and asked me, as we walked away together, how I liked it. I replied: "Very much; it was all straight out of Channing." "That is strange," he said, "for I have never read Channing." It is great testimony to the pervasive quality of a prophet's teachings when they become within fifty years a component of the intellectual atmosphere of the new times. At a dinner of Harvard graduates I once complained that, although I heard in the College Chapel a great variety of preachers connected with many different denominations, the preaching was, after all, rather monotonous, because they all preached Channing. Phillips Brooks spoke after me and said: "The President is right in thinking our present preaching monoto-

nous, and the reason he gives for this monotony is correct; we all do preach Channing."

The direct influence of Channing's writings has been vast, for they are read in English in all parts of the world, and have been translated into many languages. Thirty years ago I spent a long day in showing Don Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, some of the interesting things in the laboratories and collections of Harvard University. He was the most assiduous visitor that I ever conducted through the University buildings, intelligently interested in a great variety of objects and ideas. Late in the afternoon he suddenly said, with a fresh eagerness: "Now I will visit the tomb of Channing." We drove to Mount Auburn, and found the monument erected by the Federal Street Church. The Emperor copied with his own hand George Ticknor's inscriptions on the stone, and made me verify his copies. Then, with his great weight and height, he leaped into the air, and snatched a leaf from the maple which overhung the tomb. "I am going to put that leaf," he said, "into my best edition of Channing. I have read all his published works,—some of them many times over. He was a very great man." The Emperor of Brazil was a Roman Catholic.

Channing's philanthropy was a legitimate outcome of his view of religion. For him practical religion was character-building by the individual human being. But character-building in any large group or mass of human beings means social reform; therefore Channing was a preacher and active promoter of social regeneration in this world.

He depicted the hideous evils and wrongs of intemperance, slavery, and war. He advocated and supported every well-directed effort to improve public education, the administration of charity, and the treatment of criminals, and to lift up the laboring classes. He denounced the bitter sectarian and partisan spirit of his day. He refused entire sympathy to the abolitionists, because of the ferocity and violence of their habitual language and the injustice of their indiscriminate attacks. He distrusted money worship, wealth, and luxury.

These sentiments and actions grew straight out of his religious conceptions, and were their legitimate fruit. All his social aspirations and hopes were rooted in his fundamental conception of the fatherhood of God, and its corollary the brotherhood of men. It was his lofty idea of the infinite worth of human nature and of the inherent greatness of the human soul, in contrast with the then prevailing doctrines of human vileness and impotency, which made him resent with such indignation the wrongs of slavery, intemperance, and war, and urge with such ardor every effort to deliver men from poverty and ignorance, and to make them gentler and juster to one another.

In no subject which he discussed does the close connection between Channing's theology and his philanthropy appear more distinctly than in education. He says in his remarks on education: . . . "There is nothing on earth so precious as the mind, soul, character of the child. . . . There should be no economy in education. Money should never be weighed against the soul of a child. It

should be poured out like water for the child's intellectual and moral life." It is more than two generations since those sentences were written, and still the average public expenditure on the education of a child in the United States is less than fifteen dollars a year. Eastern Massachusetts is the community in the whole world which gives most thought, time, and money to education, public and endowed. Whence came this social wisdom? From Protestantism, from Congregationalism, from the religious teachings of Channing and his disciples. Listen to this sentence: "Benevolence is short-sighted indeed, and must blame itself for failure, if it do not see in education the chief interest of the human race."

It is impossible to join in this centennial celebration of the advent to Boston of this religious pioneer and philanthropic leader without perceiving that in certain respects the country has recently fallen away from the moral standards he set up. Channing taught that no real good can come through violence, injustice, greed, and the inculcation of hatred and enmities, or of suspicions and contempts. He believed that public well-being can be promoted only through public justice, freedom, peace, and good will among men.

He never could have imagined that there would be an outburst in his dear country, grown rich and strong, of such doctrines as that the might of arms, possessions, or majorities makes right; that a superior civilization may rightly force itself on an inferior by wholesale killing, hurting, and impoverishing; that an extension of commerce, or of mis-

sionary activities, justifies war; that the example of imperial Rome is an instructive one for republican America; and that the right to liberty and the brotherhood of man are obsolete sentimentalities.

Nevertheless, in spite of these temporary aberrations of the public mind and heart, it is plain that many of Channing's anticipations and hopes have already been realized, that his influence on three generations of men has been profound and wholly beneficent, and that the world is going his way, though with slow and halting steps.

His life brightened to its close. In its last summer but one he wrote: "This morning I plucked a globe of the dandelion—the seed-vessel—and was struck as never before with the silent, gentle manner in which nature sows her seed. . . . I saw, too, how nature sows her seed broadcast. . . . So we must send truth abroad, not forcing it on here and. there a mind, and watching its progress anxiously, but trusting that it will light on a kindly soil, and yield its fruit. So nature teaches."

May those who stand here one hundred years hence say,—the twentieth century supplied more of kindly soil for Channing seed than the nineteenth.

1903

EMERSON

EMERSON was not a logician or reasoner, and not a rhetorician, in the common sense. He was a poet, who wrote chiefly in prose, but also in verse. His verse was usually rough, but sometimes finished and melodious; it was always extraordinarily concise and expressive. During his engagement to the lady who became his second wife, he wrote thus to her: "I am born a poet,—of a low class without doubt, yet a poet; that is my nature and vocation. My singing, be sure, is very husky, and is, for the most part, in prose. Still, I am a poet in the sense of a perceiver and dear lover of the harmonies that are in the soul and in matter, and specially of the correspondences between these and those."

This husky poet had his living to get. His occupations in life were those of the teacher, minister, lecturer, and author. He was a teacher at various times between 1818 and 1826; but he never liked teaching. He was a preacher at intervals from 1826 to 1847, but a settled minister only from 1829 to 1832. His career as a lecturer began in the autumn of 1833; and his first book, "Nature," was published in 1836, when he was thirty-three years old. His lectures for money were given as a rule during the winter and early spring; and for thirty years the travelling he was obliged to do in search of audiences was often extremely

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fatiguing, and not without serious hardships and exposures. These occupations usually gave him an income sufficient for his simple wants; but there were times when outgo exceeded income. The little property his first wife left him ($1200 a year) relieved him from serious pecuniary anxiety by 1834; although it did not relieve him from earning by his own labor the livelihood of his family.

In 1834 he went to live in Concord, where his grandfather had been the minister at the time of the Revolution, and in 1835 he bought the house and grounds there which were his home for the rest of his days. Before settling in Concord, he had spent one winter and spring (1826-27) in the Southern states, and seven months of 1833 in Europe. Both of these absences were necessitated by the state of his health, which was precarious during his young manhood. With these exceptions, he had lived in Boston or its immediate neighborhood, until he settled in Concord. His progenitors on both sides were chiefly New England ministers. His formal education was received in the Boston Latin School and Harvard College, and was therefore purely local. How narrow and provincial seems his experience of life! A little city, an isolated society, a country village! Yet through books, and through intercourse with intelligent persons, he was really "set in a large place." The proof of this largeness, and of the keenness of his mental and moral vision, is that, in regard to some of the chief concerns of mankind, he was a seer and a fore-seer. This prophetic quality of his I hope to demonstrate to-night in three great fields of

thought,—education, social organization, and religion.

Although a prophet and inspirer of reform, Emerson was not a reformer. He was but a halting supporter of the reforms of his day; and the eager experimenters and combatants in actual reforms found him a disappointing sort of sympathizer. His visions were far-reaching, his doctrines often radical, and his exhortations fervid; but when it came to action, particularly to habitual action, he was surprisingly conservative. With an exquisite candor, and a gentle resolution of rarest quality he broke his strong ties to the Second Church of Boston before he was thirty years old, abandoning the profession for which he had been trained, and which, in many of its aspects, he honored and enjoyed; yet he attended church on Sundays all his life with uncommon regularity. He refused to conduct public prayer, and had many things to say against it; but when he was an Overseer of Harvard College, he twice voted to maintain the traditional policy of compelling all the students to attend morning prayers, in spite of the fact that a large majority of the Faculty urgently advocated abandoning that policy. He manifested a good deal of theoretical sympathy with the community experiments at Brook Farm and Fruitlands; but he declined to take part in them himself. He was intimate with many of the leading abolitionists; but no one has described more vividly their grave intellectual and social defects. He laid down principles which, when applied, would inevitably lead to progress and reform; but he

took little part in the imperfect step-by-step process of actual reforming. He probably would have been an ineffective worker in any field of reform; and, at any rate, strenuous labor on applications of his philosophy would have prevented him from maintaining the flow of his philosophic and prophetic visions. The work of giving practical effect to his thought was left for other men to do, —indeed for generations of other serviceable men, who, filled with his ideals, will slowly work them out into institutions, customs, and other practical values.

When we think of Emerson as a prophet, we at once become interested in the dates at which he uttered certain doctrines, or wrote certain pregnant sentences; but just here the inquirer meets a serious difficulty. He can sometimes ascertain that a given doctrine or sentence was published at a given date; but he may be quite unable to ascertain how much earlier the doctrine was really formulated, or the sentence written. Emerson has been dead twenty-one years, and it is thirty years since he wrote anything new; but his whole philosophy of life was developed by the time he was forty years old, and it may be doubted if he wrote anything after 1843, the germinal expression of which may not be found in his journals, sermons, or lectures written before that date. If, therefore, we find in the accepted thought, or established institutions, of to-day recent developments of principles and maxims laid down by Emerson, we may fairly say that his thought outran his times certainly by one, and probably by two generations of men.

I take up now the prophetic teachings of Emerson with regard to education. In the first place, he saw, with a clearness to which very few people have yet attained, the fundamental necessity of the school as the best civilizing agency, next to steady labor, and the only sure means of permanent and progressive reform. He says outright: "We shall one day learn to supersede politics by education. What we call our root-and-branch reforms, of slavery, war, gambling, intemperance, is only medicating the symptoms. We must begin higher up —namely, in education." He taught that if we hope to reform mankind, we must begin not with adults, but with children: we must begin in the school. There are some signs that this doctrine has now at last entered the minds of the so-called practical men. The Cubans are to be raised in the scale of civilization and public happiness; so both they and we think they must have more and better schools. The Filippinos, too, are to be developed after the American fashion; so we send them a thousand teachers of English. The Southern states are to be rescued from the persistent poison of slavery; and, after forty years of failure with political methods, we at last accept Emerson's doctrine, and say: We must begin earlier,—at school. The city slums are to be redeemed; and the scientific charity workers find the best way is to get the children into kindergartens and manual training schools.

Since the Civil War, a whole generation of educational administrators has been steadily at work developing what is called the elective system in

the institutions of education which deal with the ages above twelve. It has been a slow, step-by-step process, carried on against much active opposition and more sluggish obtruction. The system is a method of educational organization which recognizes the immense expansion of knowledge during the nineteenth century, and takes account of the needs and capacities of the individual child and youth. Now, Emerson laid down in plain terms the fundamental doctrines on which this elective system rests. He taught that the one prudence in life is concentration; the one evil, dissipation. He said: "You must elect your work: you shall take what your brain can, and drop all the rest." To this exhortation he added the educational reason for it,—only by concentration can the youth arrive at the stage of doing something with his knowledge, or get beyond the stage of absorbing, and arrive at the capacity for producing. As Emerson puts it, "Only so can that amount of vital force accumulate which can make the step from knowing to doing." The educational institutions of to-day have not yet fully appreciated this all-important step from knowing to doing. They are only beginning to perceive that, all along the course of education, the child and the youth should be doing something as well as learning something; should be stimulated and trained by achievement; should be constantly encouraged to take the step beyond seeing and memorizing to doing,—the step, as Emerson says, "out of a chalk circle of imbecility into fruitfulness." Emerson carried this doctrine right on into mature life. He taught that nature arms each man

with some faculty, large or small, which enables him to do easily some feat impossible to any other, and thus makes him necessary to society; and that this faculty should determine the man's career. The advocates of the elective system have insisted that its results were advantageous for society as a whole, as well as for the individual. Emerson put this argument in a nutshell at least fifty years ago: "Society can never prosper, but must always be bankrupt, until every man does that which he was created to do."

Education used to be given almost exclusively through books. In recent years there has come in another sort of education through tools, machines, gardens, drawings, casts, and pictures. Manual training, shop-work, sloyd, and gardening have come into use for the school ages; the teaching of trades has been admitted to some public school systems; and, in general, the use of the hands and eyes in productive labor has been recognized as having good educational effects. The education of men by manual labor was a favorite doctrine with Emerson. He had fully developed it as early as 1837, and he frequently recurred to it afterwards. In December of that year, in a course of lectures on Human Culture, he devoted one lecture to The Hands. He saw clearly that manual labor might be made to develop not only good mental qualities, but good moral qualities. To-day, it is frequently necessary for practical teachers, who are urging measures of improvement, to point this out, and to say, just as Emerson said two generations ago, that any falseness in mechanical work

immediately appears; that a teacher can judge of the moral quality of each boy in the class before him better and sooner from manual work than from book-work. Emerson taught that manual labor is the study of the external world; that the use of manual labor never grows obsolete, and is inapplicable to no person. He said explicitly that "a man should have a farm or a mechanical craft for his culture"; that there is not only health, but education in garden work; that when a man gets sugar, hominy, cotton, buckets, crockery ware, and letter paper by simply signing his name to a cheque, it is the producers and carriers of these articles that have got the education they yield, he only the commodity; and that labor is God's education. This was Emerson's doctrine more than sixty years ago. It is only ten years since the Mechanic Arts High School was opened in Boston.

We are all of us aware that within the last twenty years there has been a determined movement of the American people toward the cultivation of art, and toward the public provision of objects which open the sense of beauty and increase public enjoyment. It is curious to see how literally Emerson prophesied the actual direction of these efforts:—

"On the city's paved street
Plant gardens lined with lilac sweet;
Let spouting fountains cool the air,
Singing in the sun-baked square;
Let statue, picture, park, and hall,
Ballad, flag, and festival
The past restore, the day adorn,
And make to-morrow a new morn!"

We have introduced into our schools, of late years, lessons in drawing, modelling, and designing,—not sufficiently, but in a promising and hopeful way. Emerson taught that it is the office of art to educate the perception of beauty; and he precisely describes one of the most recent of the new tendencies in American education and social life, when he says: "Beauty must come back to the useful arts, and the distinction between the fine and the useful arts be forgotten." That sentence is the inspiration of one of the most recent of the efforts to improve the arts and crafts, and to restore to society the artistic craftsman. But how slow is the institutional realization of this ideal of art education! We are still struggling in our elementary and secondary schools to get a reasonable amount of instruction in drawing and music, and to transfer from other subjects a fair allotment of time to these invaluable elements of true culture, which speak a universal language. Yet the ultimate object of art in education is to teach men to see nature to be beautiful and at the same time useful, beautiful because alive and reproductive, useful while symmetrical and fair. Take up to-day the last essays on education, the last book on landscape architecture, or the freshest teachings of the principles of design, and you will find them penetrated with Emerson's doctrine of art as teacher of mankind. Emerson insists again and again that true culture must open the sense of beauty; that "a man is a beggar who only lives to the useful." It will probably require several generations yet to induce the American people to accept his doctrine that all

moments and objects can be embellished, and that cheerfulness, serenity, and repose in energy are the "end of culture and success enough."

It has been clearly perceived of late that a leading object in education is the cultivation of fine manners. On this point the teachings of Emerson are fundamental; but the American institutions of education are only beginning to appreciate their significance. He teaches that genius or love invents fine manners, "which the baron and the baroness copy very fast, and by the advantage of a palace better the instruction. They stereotype the lesson they have learned into a mode." There is much in that phrase, "by the advantage of a palace." For generations, American institutions of education were content with the humblest sort of shelters, with plain wooden huts and brick barracks, and unkempt grounds about the buildings. They are only lately beginning to acquire fine buildings with pleasing surroundings; that is, they are just beginning to carry into practice Emerson's wisdom of sixty years ago. The American cities are beginning to build handsome houses for their High Schools. Columbia University builds a noble temple for its library. The graduates and friends of Harvard like to provide her with a handsome fence round the Yard, with a fair array of shrubs within the fence, with a handsome stadium instead of shabby, wooden seats round the football gridiron, and to take steps for securing in the future broad connections between the grounds of the University and the Cambridge parks by the river. They are just now carrying into practice Emerson's teaching; by the advantage of

a palace they mean to better Harvard's instruction in manners. They are accepting his doctrine that "manners make the fortune of the ambitious youth; that for the most part his manners marry him, and, for the most part, he marries manners. When we think what keys they are, and to what secrets; what high lessons, and inspiring tokens of character they convey, and what divination is required in us for the reading of this fine telegraph,—we see what range the subject has, and what relations to convenience, power, and beauty."

In Emerson's early days there was nothing in our schools and colleges which at all corresponded to what we now know too much about under the name of athletic sports. The elaborate organization of these sports is a development of the last thirty years in our schools and colleges; but I find in Emerson the true reason for the athletic cult, given a generation before it existed among us. Your boy "hates the grammar and Gradus, and loves guns, fishing-rods, horses, and boats. Well, the boy is right, and you are not fit to direct his bringing-up, if your theory leaves out his gymnastic training. . . . Football, cricket, archery, swimming, skating, climbing, fencing, riding are lessons in the art of power, which it is his main business to learn. . . . Besides, the gun, fishing-rod, boat, and horse constitute, among all who use them, secret free-masonries." We shall never find a completer justification of athletic sports than that.

In his memorable address on The American Scholar, which was given at Cambridge in 1837, Emerson pointed out that the function of the

scholar should include creative action, or, as we call it in these days, research, or the search for new truth. He says: "The soul active . . . utters truth, or creates. . . . In its essence it is progressive. The book, the college, the school of art, the institution of any kind, stop with some past utterance of genius. . . . They look backward and not forward. But genius looks forward. Man hopes: genius creates. Whatever talents may be, if the man create not, the pure efflux of the Deity is not his;—cinders and smoke there may be, but not yet flame." And more explicitly still, he says: "Colleges have their indispensable office,—to teach elements. But they can only highly serve us when they aim not to drill, but to create." When Emerson wrote this passage, the spirit of research, or discovery, or creation had not yet breathed life into the higher institutions of learning in our country; and to-day they have much to do and to acquire before they will conform to Emerson's ideal.

There are innumerable details in which Emerson anticipated the educational experiences of later generations. I can cite but two of them. He taught that each age must write its own books; "or rather, each generation for the next succeeding. The books of an older period will not fit this." How true that is in our own day when eighty thousand new books come from the press of the civilized world in a single year! Witness the incessant re-making or re-casting of the books of the preceding generation! Emerson himself has gone into thousands of books in which his name is never mentioned. Even history has to be re-written every few years, the long-

surviving histories being rather monuments of style and method than accepted treasures of facts. Again, contrary to the prevailing impression that the press has, in large measure, stripped eloquence of its former influence, Emerson taught that "if there ever was a country where eloquence was a power, it is the United States." He included under eloquence the useful speech, all sorts of political persuasion in the great arena of the Republic, and the lessons of science, art, and religion which should be "brought home to the instant practice of thirty millions of people," now become eighty. The colleges and universities have now answered in the affirmative Emerson's question, "Is it not worth the ambition of every generous youth to train and arm his mind with all the resources of knowledge, of method, of grace, and of character to serve such a constituency?" But then Emerson's definition of eloquence is simple, and foretells the practice of today rather than describes the practice of Webster, Everett, Choate, and Winthrop, his contemporaries: "Know your fact; hug your fact. For the essential thing is heat, and heat comes of sincerity. . . . Eloquence is the power to translate a truth into language perfectly intelligible to the person to whom you speak."

I turn next to some examples of Emerson's anticipation of social conditions, visible to him as seer in his own day, and since become plain to the sight of the ordinary millions. When he accumulated in his journals the original materials of his essay on Worship, there were no large cities in the United

States in the present sense of that term. The great experiment of democracy was not far advanced, and had not developed many of its sins and dangers; yet how justly he presented them in the following description: "In our large cities, the population is godless, materialized,—no bond, no fellow-feeling, no enthusiasm. These are not men, but hungers, thirsts, fevers, and appetites walking. How is it people manage to live on, so aimless as they are? . . . There is faith in chemistry, in meat and wine, in wealth, in machinery, in the steam-engine, galvanic battery, turbine wheels, sewing-machines, and in public opinion, but not in divine causes."

In Emerson's day, luxury in the present sense had hardly been developed in our country; but he foresaw its coming, and its insidious destructiveness. "We spend our incomes for paint and paper, for a hundred trifles, I know not what, and not for the things of a man. Our expense is almost all for conformity. It is for cake that we run in debt; it is not the intellect, not the heart, not beauty, not worship, that costs us so much. Why needs any man be rich? Why must he have horses, fine garments, handsome apartments, access to public houses and places of amusement? Only for want of thought. . . . We are first thoughtless, and then find that we are moneyless. We are first sensual and then must be rich." He foresaw the young man's state of mind to-day about marriage—I must have money before I can marry; and deals with it thus: "Give us wealth and the home shall exist. But that is a very imperfect and inglorious solution of the problem, and therefore no solution. Give us wealth! You

ask too much. Few have wealth; but all must have a home. Men are not born rich; in getting wealth the man is generally sacrificed, and often is sacrificed without acquiring wealth at last."

We have come to understand by experience that the opinion of masses of men is a formidable power which can be made safe and useful. In earlier days this massed opinion was either despised or dreaded; and it is dreadful, if either confined or misdirected. Emerson compares it to steam. Studied, economized, and directed, steam has become the power by which all great labors are done. Like steam is the opinion of political masses! If crushed by castles, armies, and police, dangerously explosive; but if furnished with schools and the ballot, developing "the most harmless and energetic form of a state." His eyes were wide open to some of the evil intellectual effects of democracy. The individual is too apt to wear the time-worn yoke of the multitude's opinions. No multiplying of contemptible units can produce an admirable mass. "If I see nothing to admire in a unit, shall I admire a million units?" The habit of submitting to majority rule cultivates individual subserviency. He pointed out two generations ago that the action of violent political parties in a democracy might provide for the individual citizen a systematic training in moral cowardice.

It is interesting, at the stage of industrial warfare which the world has now reached, to observe how Emerson, sixty years ago, discerned clearly the absurdity of paying all sorts of service at one rate, now a favorite notion with some labor unions. He

points out that even when all labor is temporarily paid at one rate, differences in possessions will instantly arise: "In one hand the dime became an eagle as it fell, and in another hand a copper cent. For the whole value of the dime is in knowing what to do with it." Emerson was never deceived by a specious philanthropy, or by claims of equality which find no support in the nature of things. He was a true democrat, but still could say: "I think I see place and duties for a nobleman in every society; but it is not to drink wine and ride in a fine coach, but to guide and adorn life for the multitude by forethought, by elegant studies, by perseverance, self-devotion, and the remembrance of the humble old friend,—by making his life secretly beautiful." How fine a picture of the democratic nobility is that!

In his lecture on Man the Reformer, which was read before the Mechanics' Apprentices' Association in Boston in January, 1841, Emerson described in the clearest manner the approaching strife between laborers and employers, between poor and rich, and pointed out the cause of this strife in the selfishness, unkindness, and mutual distrust which ran through the community. He also described, with perfect precision, the only ultimate remedy,—namely, the sentiment of love. "Love would put a new face on this weary old world in which we dwell as pagans and enemies too long. . . . The virtue of this principle in human society in application to great interests is obsolete and forgotten. But one day all men will be lovers; and every calamity will be dissolved in the universal

sunshine." It is more than sixty years since those words were uttered, and in those years society has had large experience of industrial and social strife, of its causes and consequences, and of many attempts to remedy or soften it; but all this experience only goes to show that there is but one remedy for these ills. It is to be found in kindness, good fellowship, and the affections. In Emerson's words, "We must be lovers, and at once the impossible becomes possible." The world will wait long for this remedy, but there is no other.

Like every real seer and prophet whose testimony is recorded, Emerson had intense sympathy with the poor, laborious, dumb masses of mankind, and being a wide reader in history and biography, he early arrived at the conviction that history needed to be written in a new manner. It was long before Green's History of the English People that Emerson wrote: "Hence it happens that the whole interest of history lies in the fortunes of the poor." In recent years this view of history has come to prevail, and we are given the stories of institutions, industries, commerce, crafts, arts, and beliefs, instead of the stories of dynasties and wars. For Emerson it is always feats of liberty and wit which make epochs of history. Commerce is civilizing because "the power which the sea requires in the sailor makes a man of him very fast." The invention of a house, safe against wild animals, frost, and heat, gives play to the finer faculties, and introduces art, manners, and social delights. The discovery of the post office is a fine metre of civilization. The sea-going steamer marks an

epoch; the subjection of electricity to take messages and turn wheels marks another. But, after all, the vital stages of human progress are marked by steps toward personal, individual freedom. The love of liberty was Emerson's fundamental passion:—

"For He that ruleth high and wise,
Nor pauseth in His plan,
Will take the sun out of the skies
Ere freedom out of man."

The new National League of Independent Workmen of America has very appropriately taken its motto from Emerson:—

"For what avail the plough or sail
Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

The sympathetic reader of Emerson comes often upon passages written long ago which are positively startling in their anticipation of sentiments common to-day and apparently awakened by very recent events. One would suppose that the following passage was written yesterday. It was written fifty-six years ago. "And so, gentlemen, I feel in regard to this aged England, with the possessions, honors, and trophies, and also with the infirmities of a thousand years gathering around her, irretrievably committed as she now is to many old customs which cannot be suddenly changed; pressed upon by the transitions of trade, and new and all incalculable modes, fabrics, arts, machines, and competing populations,—I see her not dispirited, not weak, but well remembering that she has seen dark days before;—indeed with a kind

of instinct that she sees a little better in a cloudy day, and that in storm of battle and calamity, she has a secret vigor and a pulse like a cannon."

Before the Civil War the Jew had no such place in society as he holds to-day. He was by no means so familiar to Americans as he is now. Emerson speaks twice of the Jew in his essay on Fate, in terms precisely similar to those we commonly hear to-day: "We see how much will has been expended to extinguish the Jew, in vain. . . . The sufferance which is the badge of the Jew has made him in these days the ruler of the rulers of the earth." Those keen observations were made certainly more than forty years ago, and probably more than fifty.

Landscape architecture is not yet an established profession among us, in spite of the achievements of Downing, Cleveland, and Olmsted and their disciples; yet much has been accomplished within the last twenty-five years to realize the predictions on this subject made by Emerson in his lecture on The Young American. He pointed out in that lecture that the beautiful gardens of Europe are unknown among us, but might be easily imitated here, and said that the landscape art "is the Fine Art which is left for us. . . . The whole force of all arts goes to facilitate the decoration of lands and dwellings. . . . I look on such improvement as directly tending to endear the land to the inhabitant." The following sentence might have been written yesterday, so consistent is it with the thought of to-day: "Whatever events in progress shall go to disgust men with cities, and infuse into

them the passion for country life and country pleasures, will render a service to the whole face of this continent, and will further the most poetic of all the occupations of real life, bringing out by art the native but hidden graces of the landscape." In regard to books, pictures, statues, collections in natural history, and all such refining objects of nature and art, which heretofore only the opulent could enjoy, Emerson pointed out that in America the public should provide these means of culture and inspiration for every citizen. He thus anticipated the present ownership by cities, or by endowed trustees, of parks, gardens, and museums of art or science, as well as of baths and orchestras. Of music in particular he said: "I think sometimes could I only have music on my own terms; could I . . . know where I could go whenever I wished the ablution and inundation of musical waves,—that were a bath and a medicine." It has been a long road from that sentence, written probably in the forties, to the Symphony Orchestra in this Hall, and to the new singing classes on the East Side of New York City.

For those of us who have attended to the outburst of novels and treatises on humble or squalid life, to the copious discussions on child-study, to the masses of slum literature, and to the numerous writings on home economics, how true to-day seems the following sentence written in 1837: "The literature of the poor, the feelings of the child, the philosophy of the street, the meaning of household life are the topics of the time."

I pass now to the last of the three topics which time permits me to discuss,—Emerson's religion. In no field of thought was Emerson more prophetic, more truly a prophet of coming states of human opinion, than in religion. In the first place, he taught that religion is absolutely natural,—not supernatural, but natural:—

> "Out from the heart of Nature rolled
> The burdens of the Bible old."

He believed that revelation is natural and continuous, and that in all ages prophets are born. Those souls out of time proclaim truth, which may be momentarily received with reverence, but is nevertheless quickly dragged down into some savage interpretation which by and by a new prophet will purge away. He believed that man is guided by the same power that guides beast and flower. "The selfsame power that brought me here brought you," he says to beautiful Rhodora. For him worship is the attitude of those "who see that against all appearances the nature of things works for truth and right forever." He saw good not only in what we call beauty, grace, and light, but in what we call foul and ugly. For him a sky-born music sounds "from all that's fair; from all that's foul:"—

> "'Tis not in the high stars alone,
> Nor in the cups of budding flowers,
> Nor in the redbreast's mellow tone,
> Nor in the bow that smiles in showers,
> But in the mud and scum of things
> There alway, alway something sings."

The universe was ever new and fresh in his eyes, not spent, or fallen, or degraded, but eternally tending upward:—

> "No ray is dimmed, no atom worn,
> My oldest force is good as new,
> And the fresh rose on yonder thorn
> Gives back the bending heavens in dew."

When we come to his interpretation of historical Christianity, we find that in his view the life and works of Jesus fell entirely within the field of human experience. He sees in the deification of Jesus an evidence of lack of faith in the infinitude of the individual human soul. He sees in every gleam of human virtue not only the presence of God, but some atom of His nature. As a preacher he had no tone of authority. A true non-conformist himself, he had no desire to impose his views on anybody. Religious truth, like all other truth, was to his thought an unrolling picture, not a deposit made once for all in some sacred vessel. When people who were sure they had drained that vessel, and assimilated its contents, attacked him, he was irresponsive or impassive, and yielded to them no juicy thought; so they pronounced him dry or empty. Yet all of Emerson's religious teaching led straight to God,—not to a withdrawn creator, or anthropomorphic judge or king, but to the all-informing, all-sustaining soul of the universe.

It was a prophetic quality of Emerson's religious teaching that he sought to obliterate the distinction between secular and sacred. For him all things were sacred, just as the universe was religious. We

see an interesting fruition of Emerson's sowing in the nature of the means of influence, which organized churches and devout people have, in these later days, been compelled to resort to. Thus the Catholic Church keeps its hold on its natural constituency quite as much by schools, gymnasiums, hospitals, entertainments, and social parades as it does by its rites and sacraments. The Protestant Churches maintain in city slums "settlements," which use the secular rather than the so-called sacred methods. The fight against drunkenness, and the sexual vice and crimes of violence which follow in its train, is most successfully maintained by eliminating its physical causes and providing mechanical and social protections.

For Emerson inspiration meant not the rare conveyance of supernatural power to an individual, but the constant incoming into each man of the "divine soul which also inspires all men." He believed in the worth of the present hour:—

> "Future or Past no richer secret folds,
> O friendless Present! than thy bosom holds."

He believed that the spiritual force of human character imaged the divine:—

> "The sun set, but set not his hope:
> Stars rose; his faith was earlier up:
> Fixed on the enormous galaxy,
> Deeper and older seemed his eye."

Yet man is not an order of nature, but a stupendous antagonism, because he chooses and acts in his soul. "So far as a man thinks, he is free." It

is interesting to-day, after all the long discussion of the doctrine of evolution, to see how the much earlier conceptions of Emerson match the thoughts of the latest exponents of the philosophic results of evolution.

The present generation of scholars and ministers has been passing through an important crisis in regard to the sacred books of Judaism and Christianity. All the features of the contest over "the higher criticism" are foretold by Emerson in "The American Scholar." "The poet chanting was felt to be a divine man; henceforth the chant is divine also. The writer was a just and wise spirit; henceforward it is settled the book is perfect. Colleges are built on it; books are written on it. . . . Instantly the book becomes noxious; the guide is a tyrant." This is exactly what has happened to Protestantism, which substituted for infallible Pope and Church an infallible Book; and this is precisely the evil from which modern scholarship is delivering the world.

In religion Emerson was only a nineteenth-century non-conformist instead of a fifteenth or seventeenth century one. It was a fundamental article in his creed that, although conformity is the virtue in most request, "Whoso would be a man must be a non-conformist." In the midst of increasing luxury, and of that easy-going, unbelieving conformity which is itself a form of luxury, Boston, the birthplace of Emerson, may well remember with honor the generations of non-conformists who made her, and created the intellectual and moral climate in which Emerson grew up. Inevitably, to

conformists and to persons who still accept doctrines and opinions which he rejected, he seems presumptuous and consequential. In recent days we have even seen the word "insolent" applied to this quietest and most retiring of seers. But have not all prophets and ethical teachers had something of this aspect to their conservative contemporaries? We hardly expect the messages of prophets to be welcome; they imply too much dissatisfaction with the present.

The essence of Emerson's teaching concerning man's nature is compressed into the famous verse:—

> "So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When Duty whispers low, Thou must,
> The youth replies, I can."

The cynic or the fall-of-man theologian replies—Grandeur indeed, say rather squalor and shame. To this ancient pessimism Emerson makes answer with a hard question—"We grant that human life is mean, but how did we find out that it was mean?" To this question no straight answer has been found, the common answer running in a circle. It is hard indeed to conceive of a measure which will measure depths but not heights; and besides, every measure implies a standard.

I have endeavored to set before you some of the practical results of Emerson's visions and intuitions, because, though quite unfit to expound his philosophical views, I am capable of appreciating

some of the many instances in which his words have come true in the practical experience of my own generation. My own work has been a contribution to the prosaic, concrete work of building, brick by brick, the new walls of old American institutions of education. As a young man I found the writings of Emerson unattractive, and not seldom unintelligible. I was concerned with physical science, and with routine teaching and discipline; and Emerson's thinking seemed to me speculative and visionary. In regard to religious belief, I was brought up in the old-fashioned Unitarian conservatism of Boston, which was rudely shocked by Emerson's excursions beyond its well-fenced precincts. But when I had got at what proved to be my lifework for education, I discovered in Emerson's poems and essays all the fundamental motives and principles of my own hourly struggle against educational routine and tradition, and against the prevailing notions of discipline for the young; so when I was asked to speak to you to-night about him, although I realized my unfitness in many respects for such a function, I could not refuse the opportunity to point out how many of the sober, practical undertakings of to-day had been anticipated in all their principles by this solitary, shrewd, independent thinker, who, in an inconsecutive and almost ejaculatory way, wrought out many sentences and verses which will travel far down the generations.

I was also interested in studying in this example the quality of prophets in general. We know a good deal about the intellectual ancestors and inspirers of Emerson; and we are sure that he drank

deep at many springs of idealism and poetry. Plato, Confucius, Shakespere, and Milton were of his teachers; Oken, Lamarck, and Lyell lent him their scientific theories; and Channing stirred the residuum which came down to him through his forbears from Luther, Calvin, and Edwards. All these materials he transmuted and moulded into lessons which have his own individual quality and bear his stamp. The precise limits of his individuality are indeterminable, and inquiry into them would be unprofitable. In all probability the case would prove to be much the same with most of the men that the world has named prophets, if we knew as much of their mental history as we know of Emerson's. With regard to the Semitic prophets and seers, it is reasonable to expect that as Semitic exploration and discovery advance, the world will learn much about the historical and poetical sources of their inspiration. Then the Jewish and Christian peoples may come nearer than they do now to Emerson's conceptions of inspiration and worship, of the naturalness of revelation and religion, and of the infinite capacities of man. Meantime, it is an indisputable fact that Emerson's thought has proved to be consonant with the most progressive and fruitful thinking and acting of two generations since his working time. This fact, and the sweetness, fragrance, and loftiness of his spirit, prophesy for him an enduring power in the hearts and lives of spiritually-minded men.

1903

THE CHARACTER OF A GENTLEMAN

We have been listening to several different voices and have observed in what they said notes that were common to all. I wonder if I can tell you what seemed to me would be the issue of their advice in the personal character of the Harvard student. You have heard that the Harvard man should be an independent, stout-hearted individual, that he should be sociable, that he should cultivate friendship, that he should be a hard student, that he should have an enthusiasm and "hitch his wagon to a star." Now, what is this character—is there any name for it? I think I saw, as I sat here to-night, what this character might well be called. It is the character of a gentleman who is also a democrat. Let me try to state to you in a few moments some of the elements of that character.

When I travel in other parts of our country, it often gives me a great deal of pleasure to have a lady or a gentleman say to me, "I think I can tell a Harvard man by his manners." I always hope that is true. I know it is true of some Harvard men, and I wish it were true of every Harvard man —that you can tell him by his manners. Manners go a long way toward morals. An institution of

An address to new students at the Harvard Union, October 12, 1904. Published in "Training for an Effective Life." Copyright, 1915, Houghton Mifflin Company.

learning confers a great benefit on its novices when it improves their bearing, their address, and their manners and customs. What are some of the characteristics of a gentleman in democratic society?

In the first place, he will be a quiet person. His speech will be gentle and his demeanor quiet. I have had many visiting college presidents and teachers say to me, "Where are your students? I don't hear them about the Yard. It seems to me this is a very quiet campus. It is not much like ours." Now, that is a fact. The Harvard Yard is favorably known as the quietest college enclosure in the country. If you hear a fellow bawling about the Yard you can be perfectly sure that he is an outsider or a newcomer. A gentleman is quiet. He does not bluster, or bustle, or hurry, or vociferate. He is a serene person. The most effective people are generally quiet, and for the best of reasons—namely, that effectiveness requires steady, close attention, and that attention implies stillness and a mind intent.

Another of his qualities is a disposition to see the superiorities in persons rather than their inferiorities, and to wish to associate with his superiors rather than his inferiors. This is an excellent rule by which to select your friends. Observe the superiorities in men, and associate with your superiors. This is a part of the generosity of a gentleman—discerning the finer qualities in other people and welcoming them. No loneliness or isolation for him; because he discovers and seeks his superiors.

A gentleman should be generous, and he may

be generous, though he be poor in money,—that is, he may have a generous spirit. He will be reserved about the state of his own pocket and budget. He will conform his life to his resources and say nothing about them, but let the facts speak for themselves. He will not be generous with other people's money—his father's or his mother's, for instance. Some Americans seem to think that a gentleman should not economize, or be frugal, or insistent on getting a just money value in his purchases. They think that lavishness characterizes the gentleman, whereas neither lavishness nor parsimony befits a gentleman.

There is another evidence of generosity in a gentleman by which you may test any person about whom you doubt whether he be a gentleman or not. A real gentleman will always be considerate toward those whom he employs, toward those who might be considered his inferiors, or who are in any way in his power. The real gentleman thinks about their comforts, pleasures, and reasonable expectations, and does nothing to make their condition harder or less enjoyable. There is no surer test of a gentleman than that, except that a gentleman will never do anything that will hurt a woman or child or any human creature weaker than himself, even if he does not yet know the woman or child that might be hurt. This is a test which is infallible. I think that you will find that this rule of conduct will go far toward the preservation of personal honor and personal purity.

But there is another quality in a gentleman, which is illustrated perfectly in the life of our

democracy—and I am trying to describe the gentleman who is also a democrat. The gentleman must be a power. We have derived our idea of the gentleman, in good part, from the days of chivalry. The gentlemen were then landowners, magistrates, and soldiers, whose responsibilities and risks were often great. The gentleman was a vigorous doer; and this brave, active, influential leader is still the type of the gentleman, although the modes of his activity have greatly changed. The gentleman in a democracy cannot be a lazy, shiftless, self-indulgent person. He must be a worker, an organizer, and a disinterested laborer in the service of others. I suppose that was the type of gentleman that Professor Fenn had in mind to-night. I am sure that is the only true type of gentleman. The solid satisfactions of life are won only through labor. The young university man who means to be a gentleman should therefore cultivate zealously his powers of effective work with brain, nerve, and muscle. The gentleman is not to be a weakling, or a mere pleasure-seeker, but a strong and hard-working man.

I have heard it said a good many times in the last few years by thoughtless students that in Harvard College the gentleman's mark is "C." We have five grades in Harvard College—A,B,C, D, and E. Do you see the bearing of that statement? "The gentleman's mark is C!" He is not to be an effective, strong worker. He is not to be a man with a strong grip and a high purpose. He is not to be a strenuous seeker after efficiency and power. He is to be an indifferent, good-for-

nothing, luxurious person, idling through the precious years of college life. Can there be a stupider or a falser idea of a gentleman than that?

The gentleman attends to the person who is speaking and to the business in hand. Considerate attention is always an important part of good manners. The soldier, when an officer approaches him, puts his heels together, and stands silently in the erect attitude of attention. This is an instructive and significant observance. It reminds me of another quality of a gentleman, too much neglected in our day. A gentleman is deferential. He is deferential to age, to innocence, to beauty, to skill, to excellence; and the stronger he is himself, the surer he is to show this quality of respect toward merit in others.

I have tried to point out to you what the type of character is which unites the manly qualities the preceding speakers have suggested or emphasized. It is a high ideal, a democratic ideal, an American ideal.

1904

THE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE

THE Dean has gone back a good way in Harvard history, and referred to a time long ago when I was fresh in my office and had not taken to heart the advice which an old friend of my family gave me shortly after my election. He said to me, "Charles, I suppose you think that in your new office the first quality you will need is energy." I replied, "Why, yes, I thought that energy was likely to be needed." "No," he said; "that is not at all the first quality you will need. The first quality is patience, patience, patience." I did not believe him at that time; but long since I learned that Mr. Hillard was right. It takes much time to get essential changes wrought in an institution of education, or in a governmental institution; and the reason for this slowness is that changes which are to last must be accepted by multitudes of men,—indeed, by generations of interested and responsible men. In this long process arrests and reactions occur. In the last few years we have had striking illustrations of strong reaction against prevailing educational policies. There has come upon us, right here in these grounds and among Harvard's constituents, and widespread over the country as

An address given to the new students at the Harvard Union, October 1, 1906. Published in "Training for an Effective Life." Copyright, 1915, Houghton Mifflin Company.

well, a distrust of freedom for students, of freedom for citizens, of freedom for backward races of men. That is one of the striking phenomena of our day, a distrust of freedom.

Now, there is no moment in life when there comes a greater sudden access of freedom than this moment in which you find yourselves. When young men come to any American college,—I care not at all to which college,—to any American college from the parents' home or from school, they experience a tremendous access of freedom. Is it an injury? Is it a danger? Are you afraid of it? Has society a right to be afraid of it? What is freedom for? What does it do for us? Does it hurt or help us? Do we grow in it, or do we shrink in it? That is quite an important question in the management of Harvard University. It is an important question in modern government. It is pretty clear that when young men or old men are free, they make mistakes, and they go wrong; having freedom to do right or wrong, they often do right and they often do wrong. When you came hither, you found yourselves in possession of a new freedom. You can over-eat yourselves, for example; you can over-drink; you can take no care for sleep; you can take no exercise or too much; you can do little work or too much; you can indulge in harmful amusements; in short, you have a great new freedom here. Is it a good thing for you, or a bad thing? Clearly, you can go astray, for the road is not fenced. You can make mistakes; you can fall into sin. Have you learned to control yourselves? Have you got the will power in you

to regulate your own conduct? Can you be your own taskmaster? You have been in the habit of looking to parents, perhaps, or to teachers, or to the heads of your boarding-schools or your day schools for control in all these matters. Have you got it in yourselves to control yourselves? That is the prime question which comes up with regard to every one of you when you come to the University. Have you the good sense and the resolution to regulate your own conduct?

It is pretty clear that in other spheres freedom is dangerous. How is it with free political institutions? Do they always yield the best government? Look at the American cities and compare them with the cities of Europe. Clearly free institutions do not necessarily produce the best government. Are, then, free institutions wrong or inexpedient? What is freedom for? Why has God made men free, as he has not made the plants and the animals? The plant is tied to one spot, and it develops with more or less perfection on a fixed type. It can be no other. It may be a little better oak tree or a little worse oak tree, but out of the acorn must come the oak. The moving, roving animal has a little more freedom; but it is held closely to its type by a group of fixed inherited tendencies and habits. But how is it with men? They are infinitely freer; God made them so. Did He make a mistake? Is freedom dangerous? Yes! but it is necessary to the growth of human character, and that is what we are all in the world for, and that is what you and your like are in college for. That is what the world was made for, for the occupation

of men who in freedom through trial win character. It is choice which makes the dignity of human nature. It is habitual choosing after examination, consideration, reflection, and advice, which makes the man of power. Do you want to be automata? Do you want to be cogs on a wheel driven by a pinion which revolves in obedience to a force outside itself? Is that what you are aiming to be? The cog is implicitly obedient to an authority outside itself. The automaton acts without willing each time. Do you want to be either in after life? If not, then exercise your power of choice and the internal power of control. It is the will that makes the thinker and the inventor. It is through the internal motive power of the will that men imagine, invent, thrust their thoughts out into the obscure beyond, into the future. The will is the prime motive power; and you can only train your wills in freedom. That is what freedom is for, in school and college, in society, industries, and governments. Fine human character is the object in view, and freedom is the indispensable condition of its development.

Now, there are some clear objects for choice here in college, for real choice, for discreet choice. I will mention only two. In the first place, choose those studies—there is a great range of them here—which will, through your interest in them, develop your working power. You know that it is only through work that you can achieve anything, either in college or in the world. Choose those studies on which you can work intensely with pleasure, with real satisfaction and happiness.

That is the true guide to a wise choice. Choose that intellectual pursuit which will develop within you the power to do enthusiastic work, an internal motive power, not an external compulsion. Then choose an ennobling companionship. You will find out in five minutes that this man stirs you to do good, that man to evil. Shun the latter; cling to the former. Choose companionship rightly; choose your whole surroundings so that they shall lift you up and not drag you down. Make these two choices wisely, and be faithful in labor, and you will succeed in college and in after life.

1906

THE DURABLE SATISFACTIONS OF LIFE

For educated men what are the sources of the solid and durable satisfactions of life? I hope you are all aiming at the solid, durable satisfactions of life, not primarily the gratifications of this moment or of to-morrow, but the satisfactions that are going to last and grow. So far as I have seen, there is one indispensable foundation for the satisfactions of life—health. A young man ought to be a clean, wholesome, vigorous animal. That is the foundation for everything else, and I hope you will all be that, if you are nothing more. We have to build everything in this world of domestic joy and professional success, everything of a useful, honorable career, on bodily wholesomeness and vitality.

This being a clean, wholesome, vigorous animal involves a good deal. It involves not condescending to the ordinary barbaric vices. One must avoid drunkenness, gluttony, licentiousness, and getting into dirt of any kind, in order to be a clean, wholesome, vigorous animal. Still, none of you would be content with this achievement as the total outcome of your lives. It is a happy thing to have in youth what are called animal spirits—a very descriptive phrase; but animal spirits do not

An address given to the new students at Harvard University, on October 3, 1905. Published in "The Durable Satisfactions of Life." Copyright, 1910, T. Y. Crowell Company. Published in "Training for an Effective Life." Copyright, 1915, Houghton Mifflin Company.

last even in animals; they belong to the kitten or puppy stage. It is a wholesome thing to enjoy for a time, or for a time each day all through life, sports and active bodily exercise. These are legitimate enjoyments, but, if made the main object of life, they tire. They cease to be a source of durable satisfaction. Play must be incidental in a satisfactory life.

What is the next thing, then, that we want in order to make sure of durable satisfactions in life? We need a strong mental grip, a wholesome capacity for hard work. It is intellectual power and aims that we need. In all the professions—learned, scientific, or industrial—large mental enjoyments should come to educated men. The great distinction between the privileged class to which you belong, the class that has opportunity for prolonged education, and the much larger class that has not that opportunity, is that the educated class lives mainly by the exercise of intellectual powers and gets therefore much greater enjoyment out of life than the much larger class that earns a livelihood chiefly by the exercise of bodily powers. You ought to obtain here, therefore, the trained capacity for mental labor, rapid, intense, and sustained. That is the great thing to get in college, long before the professional school is entered. Get it now. Get it in the years of college life. It is the main achievement of college life to win this mental force, this capacity for keen observation, just inference, and sustained thought, for everything that we mean by the reasoning power of man. That capacity will be the main source of intel-

lectual joys and of happiness and content throughout a long and busy life.

But there is something more, something beyond this acquired power of intellectual labor. As Shakspere puts it, "the purest treasure mortal times afford is spotless reputation." How is that treasure won? It comes by living with honor, on honor. Most of you have begun already to live honorably and honored, for the life of honor begins early. Some things the honorable man cannot do, never does. He never wrongs or degrades a woman. He never oppresses or cheats a person weaker or poorer than himself. He never betrays a trust. He is honest, sincere, candid, and generous. It is not enough to be honest. An honorable man must be generous, and I do not mean generous with money only. I mean generous in his judgments of men and women, and of the nature and prospects of mankind. Such generosity is a beautiful attribute of the man of honor.

How does honor come to a man? What is the evidence of the honorable life? What is the tribunal which declares at last, "This was an honorable man"? You look now for the favorable judgment of your elders,—of parents and teachers and older students; but these elders will not be your final judges, and you had better get ready now in college to appear before the ultimate tribunal, the tribunal of your contemporaries and the younger generations. It is the judgment of your contemporaries that is most important to you; and you will find that the judgment of your contemporaries is made up alarmingly early,—it may be

made up this year in a way that sometimes lasts for life and beyond. It is made up in part by persons to whom you have never spoken, by persons who in your view do not know you, and who get only a general impression of you; but always it is contemporaries whose judgment is formidable and unavoidable. Live now in the fear of that tribunal,—not an abject fear, because independence is an indispensable quality in the honorable man. There is an admirable phrase in the Declaration of Independence, a document which it was the good fashion of my time for the boys to commit to memory. I doubt if that fashion still obtains. Some of our public action looks as if it did not. "When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." That phrase—"a decent respect"—is a very happy one. Cherish "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind," but never let that interfere with your personal declaration of independence. Begin now to prepare for the judgment of the ultimate human tribunal.

Look forward to the important crises of your life. They are nearer than you are apt to imagine. It is a very safe protective rule to live to-day as if you were going to marry a pure woman within a month. That rule you will find a safeguard for

worthy living. It is a good rule to endeavor hour by hour and week after week to learn to work hard. It is not well to take four minutes to do what you can accomplish in three. It is not well to take four years to do what you can perfectly accomplish in three. It is well to learn to work intensely. You will hear a good deal of advice about letting your soul grow and breathing in without effort the atmosphere of a learned society or place of learning. Well, you cannot help breathing and you cannot help growing; these processes will take care of themselves. The question for you from day to day is how to learn to work to advantage, and college is the place and now is the time to win mental power. And, lastly, live to-day and every day like a man of honor.

1905

THE APPRECIATION OF BEAUTY

THE ultimate object of democracy is to increase the satisfactions and joys of life for the great mass of the people—to increase them absolutely and also relatively to pains and sorrows. In other words, the final aim of government by people for the people is to increase to the highest possible degree, and for the greatest possible number of persons, the pleasurable sensations or cheerful feelings which contribute to make life happy, and to reduce to the lowest terms the preventable evils which go to make life miserable. The reduction of evil is an indirect benefit. The direct way to promote that public happiness which is the ultimate object of democracy is to increase the number, variety, and intensity of those sensations and emotions which give innocent and frequently recurring pleasure. This increase of well-being should take effect on the masses of the democratic population; although the select few, who possess unusual capacity or good-will, will inevitably get more than their proportional share of the general well-being. The natural and genuine leader, discoverer, or superior person cannot but get unusual satisfactions out of the benefits he confers; and a

Delivered by President Eliot of Harvard University at the opening of the Albright Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y. Published in "The Critic," August, 1905. Copyright, 1905, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

true democracy will be glad he does, recognizing that his superiority does not obstruct or lessen the happiness of the common people, but rather promotes it. Nevertheless the democratic goal is the happiness of the common mass.

Among the means of increasing innocent pleasurable sensations and emotions for multitudes of men and women, none is more potent than the cultivation of the sense of beauty. Beauty means a thing enjoyable. It must always be something which excites in human beings pleasurable sensations and emotions. Beauty is infinitely various, and it is omnipresent. It is accessible, therefore, to all men in all places and in all moods; and its infinite value for pleasure and content only waits on the development of the capacity in human beings to feel and to appreciate it.

The enjoyment of beauty is unselfish. When one solitary man feels it, he does not, by his own enjoyment, deprive any other creature of the same felicity; on the contrary, in most instances his enjoyment is much enhanced by sharing it with sympathetic souls. The child who enjoys, she knows not why, the exquisite forms and colors of a single pansy does not shut out other people from experiencing the same sensations at sight of the same pansy; and she finds her pleasure only increased when father and mother and playmates share it with her. When, at rare intervals, the snow-clad Mount Rainier reveals itself, touched by the rays of the setting sun, to far-off Seattle, the enjoyment of the solitary street-sweeper who has first noticed it is only enhanced when the people

run out of their houses to enjoy the magnificent spectacle. In their spiritual effects æsthetic pleasures differ widely from pleasures, like those of eating and drinking, which are exhausted on the individual who enjoys them. The happiness of loving things beautiful is in a high degree a social form of happiness; and it is the aim of democracy to develop social happiness, as well as individual.

It is undeniable that the American democracy, which found its strongest and most durable springs in the ideals of New England Puritanism, has thus far failed to take proper account of the sense of beauty as means of happiness, and to provide for the training of that sense. On the main gate of Harvard University there stands this inscription, taken from "New England's First Fruits," a little book published in London in 1643:

> After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate minister to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust.

That sentence still describes the main objects which present themselves to the minds of the present generation of Americans when they settle a new region, or reconstruct an old one—houses, livelihood, churches, civil government, and education; and still that order of development commonly prevails, except that education is nowadays put earlier.

To that list it is time to add the cultivation of the sense of beauty, or rather to interfuse that cultivation systematically with every item on the list. The Puritan, establishing himself painfully on the eastern rim of the wild continent, thought rather of duty than of beauty, and distrusted pleasurable sensations and emotions as probably unworthy of a serious soul, not looking for happiness in this life but only in the next; and to this day his descendants and followers, spreading across the broad continent, pay far too little attention to the means of promoting public happiness. They seek eagerly material possessions and the coarser bodily satisfactions, but are not at pains to discover and make available the emotional and spiritual sources of public and private happiness. It is therefore an interesting inquiry how the sense of beauty, and the delight in the beautiful, are to be implanted, cultivated, and strengthened among the masses of the American population.

The oldest and readiest means of cultivating the sense of beauty is habitual observation of the heavens, for which the only things needed are the open sight of the sky and the observing eye. The heavens are always declaring "the glory of God." The noblest poetry of all nations celebrates the majesty and splendor of the sky. Psalmist, prophet, and artist draw thence their loftiest teachings. Sun, moon, and stars, sunset and sunrise, clouds tossed and torn by wind, floating or driving mists and fogs, snow, rain, and the clear blue are all phenomena of the sky which will afford endless delights to him who watches them. The dweller on

the prairie or the sea has the best chance at the sky; and the dweller in narrow streets, hemmed in by tall buildings, has the worst. This obstruction of the sight of the sky is one of the grave evils which beset a modern urban population. City people run about at the bottom of deep ditches, and often can see only a narrow strip of the heavens. Fortunately the loftiest structures reared by man are not so high but that a moderate open area in the midst of a closely built city will give a prospect of large sections of the heavens. This is one of the great things gained for an urban population by accessible open spaces, such as parks, commons, marshes, and reaches or ponds of water.

Next to observation of the sky as a means of developing the sense of beauty comes observation of the landscape. Landscape includes innumerable and very various objects of beauty; for it includes beauty of form, of texture, of color, and of lustre. Thus, the contours and surfaces of hills and valleys present infinite variety of beautiful form. Some fields and pastures are convex in form; others—and these are the more beautiful—are concave. The plant and tree growths which cover portions of these surfaces also present extraordinary varieties of color and texture. Threads or sheets of water add silver sheen or lustrous blue or gray. In some landscapes it is a single object like Niagara which absorbs the attention; in others it is a group of objects as in the Garden of the Gods in Colorado or the Yosemite in California; while in others the multitudinous multiplication of the same object is the interesting feature, as in a field of wheat or of California

poppies, or in a forest, or in the millions of equal ripples on a sunlit lake. Over every landscape hangs the sky, contributing lights and shadows, brilliancy or sombreness, perfect calm or boisterous windiness. The ear shares with the eye the beautiful effects of weather on landscape. The rushing of the storm through the narrow valley, the murmuring tremor of the pines in the gentle breeze, the rustling and bowing of a field of corn in an August gale, the clatter of palmettoes in a wind, the rattle of pebbles on a beach dragged down by the retiring wave, the onset of a thunder shower, are delights for the ear as well as the eye. For such implanting and developing of the sense of beauty in the minds of urban populations, a large new provision has been made by many American cities during the past twenty years; and this movement is still gathering force. It will result in great gains for public happiness.

Democratic society is not favorable to the creation and permanent holding of great parks and forests by enduring families, a process which often procured important advantages for the public in feudal society. The king, the prince, the cardinal, or the court favorite held great estates which might easily descend through many generations, undiminished and well maintained. The whole community could enjoy in some measure the landscape beauty thus created and preserved. Under democratic legislation and custom it is difficult to transmit from generation to generation great private holdings in land. It is therefore fortunate that the democracy has already decided that it will itself

own and preserve for public uses large tracts of land. Public ownership will provide in our country the forests, parks, river-banks, and beaches which will give the urban and suburban populations access to landscape beauty.

Another means of increasing the enjoyment of beauty, which has of late years become commoner in our country than it used to be, is the cultivation of flowers and flowering shrubs in houses or house-lots, and in gardens both public and private. This cultivation is a very humane and civilizing source of enjoyment. It is usually a pleasure shared with others—even with the passers-by,—and it is as enjoyable on the small scale as on the large for the individual planter and tender. One of the encouraging signs about American systematic education is that school boards and teachers are beginning to see the utility of school gardens. "How Plants Grow" was the title of one of Asa Gray's best books. The place to teach that subject is not the lecture room or the laboratory, but the garden plot.

It is said that the first art a barbarous people develops and fosters effectively is architecture. Shelter is a primary necessity; so the earliest arts and trades will provide shelters. For the worship of their gods all peoples try to rear imposing structures. The American people, if we study them all across the continent, seem to mean that their best buildings shall be schoolhouses and libraries,—certainly not a bad choice. They are also ready to pay for costly buildings for the use of government —national, state, or municipal—each citizen having some sense of individual proprietorship in such

buildings. If we could always get in our public buildings the beauty of good proportion and of pleasing decoration, what an addition to the every-day enjoyment of the population would such good architecture give. To pass a noble building every day in going from the home to the workshop makes an appreciable addition to the satisfactions of the citizen. To go to school in a house well designed and well decorated gives a pleasure to the pupils which is an important part of their training. To live in a pretty cottage surrounded by a pleasing garden is a great privilege for the country-bred child. The boy who was brought up in a New England farmhouse, overhung by stately elms, approached through an avenue of maples or limes, and having a dooryard hedged about with lilacs, will carry that fair picture in his mind through a long exile, and in his old age revisit it with delight. In regard to public buildings, however, it is all-important that they should be not only noble in design, but also nobly used or occupied. When a just and kindly rich man builds a handsome palace for himself and his family, his lavish expenditure does no harm to the community, but on the contrary provides it with a beautiful and appropriate object of sympathetic contemplation. But when a knave or a gambler lives in a palace, the sight of his luxury and splendor may work injury to the lookers-on. It is the same with regard to public buildings. Their occupation or use must be noble, like that of a Gothic cathedral. They must harbor honest men, not rogues. They must be used to promote large

public interests, and must be instinct with public spirit.

The provision of public museums, like this beautiful structure whose opening we commemorate today, is another means of educating the popular sense of beauty. By casts, prints, etchings, and photographs a good collection trains the eyes of the people to appreciate beauty of outline, of light and shade, of symmetry and proportion. Vases and textile fabrics supply instruction in color, lustre, and texture. For training the eye to the appreciation of beautiful compositions in color, good paintings are necessary. Examples of the work of the greatest masters in color are, of course, very difficult to obtain for exhibition in the United States; but a few such objects in our best collections would have an immeasurable value. Unfortunately our barbarous legislation, taxing imported works of art, piles on the natural difficulties of our situation a serious artificial obstruction. One of the great services of the Roman Church to the peoples of Europe has been the free exhibition, as altar-pieces, or as chancel and sacristy decorations, of many of the most admirable works of the leading painters of the world. The favorite subject with these great painters for a church picture—the Holy Family—offered to the artist a large variety of human figures in a compact group, namely, a mature man, a young mother, a baby, and a Saint Catherine or a Saint John the Baptist, representing so many interesting stages of human life, with all the appropriate varieties of facial expression, skin coloring, and graceful garments, the whole permeated with lofty and holy

sentiment. Such pictures the Roman Church kept before millions of its worshippers for hundreds of years. The modern painter has not yet seized on any subject of such supreme merit and universal availability. Since the church has had only a slight æsthetic function in the United States, public collections have in America even greater importance than they have in Europe.

It is apparent from the tremendous influence of the passion of love that beauty in man, woman, and child must yield a large part of the available material for developing and training the sense of beauty in the masses of the population. The attraction of sex becomes efficient when the eye is delighted by the color, form and grace of the beloved object. It is through the eye and the ear chiefly that we are susceptible to beauty in man, woman, or child. The lover's senses are all quickened and set on fire, and his vital energies are magnified. His fancy and his power of attention become lively and keen; and, in short, all his vital functions are made healthier and stronger. It follows from this almost universal experience that the enjoyment of beauty accompanies and announces a condition of health and vigor in the human body and the human spirit, and that whatever promotes the public health, or in other words the habitual health of the multitude, will also promote the development of the sense of beauty, and will multiply the pleasurable feelings which accompany the observation of beauty. Whatever promotes the public health tends, therefore, to promote that public happiness which the recognition

and study of beauty are fitted to procure for the popular masses.

It has sometimes been maintained that love of the beautiful is an effeminate sentiment, which may fitly accompany delicacy, tenderness, and refinement, but is not an attribute of manly vigor or of a pioneering, enterprising, and martial race. On one Memorial Day not long ago I was watching from my office window a post of the Grand Army of the Republic marching slowly to wailing music toward the graves of their former comrades in Mount Auburn Cemetery, which they were about to decorate with flowers. The friend who stood beside me said: "I cannot bear to hear this music or see these flowers. Both are beautiful, but both are too sentimental. They are bad substitutes for the stern, unadorned gravity and resolution of our Puritan forefathers." My friend was an intense patriot: but in this dislike he was wrong. The love of the beautiful is not inconsistent with reverence for honor, justice, and faithfulness unto death. Neither is it inconsistent with intense energy, and keen intellectual foresight and penetration, or with the martial virtues of courage, self-sacrifice, and tenacity. If we need a demonstration that love of the beautiful and habitual cultivation of the beautiful are not inconsistent with the simultaneous possession of the most effective and robust human qualities, we may find it in the extraordinary artistic qualities of the Japanese as a race, qualities they exhibit in conjunction with great industrial efficiency, remarkable sanitary wisdom, and an unparalleled energy and devotion in war. The interest

of the Japanese in flowers, gardens, and groves, and their skill in producing the most admirable varieties of fine work in metals, pottery, and textile fabrics have been the wonder of the Western world. Even the arrangement of cut flowers is for them a high art; a garden or a grove is almost a sacred place: and the production of a single beautiful porcelain or bronze vase or bowl is an adequate reward for months of labor. This devotion to the production of the beautiful is absolutely consistent with the possession by the same race of the qualities which we commonly distinguish by such words as manly, sturdy, and heroic. We ought not to be surprised at this union of attributes. We ought never to have imagined that the sense of beauty harmonized only with softness, fineness, or frailty in the human being. The fact is that many beautiful objects are coarse, rough, stern, or fierce, like the sea, the thunder-storm, or the bare mountain crag. Beauty often results chiefly from fitness; indeed it is easy to maintain that nothing is fair except what is fit for its uses or functions. If the function or the product of a machine be useful and valuable, and the machine be eminently fit for its work, beauty will be discernible in the machine. An American axe is eminently fit for its function, and it conspicuously has the beauty of fitness. A locomotive or a steamship has the same sort of beauty, derived from its supreme fitness for its function. As functions vary, so will those beauties which depend on fitness for function vary, from the exquisite delicacy of the narcissus to the sturdy vigor of the oak. In cultivating the love of the

beautiful we shall also cultivate the love and appreciation of the fit.

The best place to inculcate the love of the beautiful is the schoolroom. To the rising generation the most effective lessons can be given, and from the school millions of children will carry the lessons to millions of homes. After reading, spelling, writing, and ciphering with small numbers and in simple operations, drawing should be the most important common school subject. All children should learn how lines, straight and curved, and lights and shades form pictures and may be made to express symmetry and beauty. All children should acquire by use of pencil and brush power of observation and exactness in copying, and should learn through their own work what the elements of beauty are. It is monstrous that the common school should give much time to compound numbers, bank discount, and stenography, and little time to drawing. It is monstrous that the school which prepares for college should give four or five hours a week for two years to Greek, and no time at all to drawing. The main object in every school should be, not to provide the children with means of earning a livelihood, but to show them how to live a happy and worthy life, inspired by ideals which exalt and dignify both labor and leisure. To see beauty and to love it is to possess large securities for such a life.

In diffusing among the American population knowledge and appreciation of the fine arts, we shall also diffuse the artistic sentiment about labor. The artist is always working with mingled gladness and disappointment towards an ideal he never at-

tains. It is his struggle toward that ideal which makes his life a happy one. That is the spirit in which all the work of the community should be done. Everybody should be trying to realize perfection in his art, or trade, or daily work. Towards that idealization of daily life the love of the beautiful leads us; and the road which connects the love of the beautiful with the love of the good is short and smooth.

When, therefore, the citizens of Buffalo assemble in this beautiful park to dedicate this beautiful building and its collections to the public service, they are commending to the rest of the nation a high example of private beneficence which will promote, in a wise and sound way, democratic happiness.

1905

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF WOMEN

THERE is a common impression that to procure for herself a real intellectual life, as distinguished from a life of sentimental or mechanical routine, a woman needs to have some occupation similar to those of men—that is, she needs to keep a shop, carry on a business, have some trade or profession, be skillful in some art which has a commercial use, or be a professional writer, artist, or student. The common life of women in bearing and rearing children and making a home for a family is not thought of as affording the wife and mother the means and opportunities for an intellectual development. Is this a rational view? Does it conform to the real experience of a woman of good parts who marries at twenty-four, or thereabouts, and brings up a family of five or six children?

There is no question that a woman who does not pursue the natural and common vocation of women may enjoy an intellectual life in employments similar to those which procure for men a large and enjoyable intellectual development. Many such exceptional women can follow with satisfaction the ordinary professions for men, keep shops, carry on business, labor for churches, schools and charitable societies, and take an active part in the various social movements which are furthered by public

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discussion and the active stimulation of public opinion; but these exceptional women will, as a rule, contribute far less to the real progress and development of mankind than the normal women, whose intellectual opportunities they are apt to underrate.

The normal girl, who learns to read, write and cipher at school and acquires there a little knowledge of history and literature and a taste for reading, finds her means of intellectual development, outside of the schoolroom, in her practice of the household arts, in her study of clothes for herself and her family, in her enforced careful expenditure of money, in reading, and in her daily intercourse with father and mother, brothers and sisters, companions and acquaintances. From these things much intellectual training can be extracted by a girl who thinks; and the girl who does not think before she is twenty-four is not likely to think much at any time of her life. Suddenly this girl takes into her heart and brain the personality and interests of another human being—a young man. When courtship and marriage are taken thoughtfully, and neither as a matter of mere impulse and emotion nor as a business arrangement, there comes with them a strong intellectual stimulation, and in most cases a widening of the field of observation and thought.

Going to housekeeping under new conditions is also a valuable piece of mental training. The young woman has new duties, or new applications of arts which she learned from her mother. Her husband brings home many subjects for thought and speculation which are new to her. He prob-

ably has a different trade or occupation from her father, with different invitations, obstacles and prospects.

With the coming of children the mother not only experiences new joys and new anxieties, but also has many new things to learn and new difficulties to contend with. Tenderness, sympathy and love are indispensable in the care of babies and the bringing-up of young children; but there is a large opportunity also for careful thought and practical wisdom in addition to those natural sentiments, particularly if the family lives in the sparsely-settled country, or is not rich enough to command the prompt services of all sorts of specialists and helpers.

The process of training several children in helpfulness, mutual forbearance and productive cooperation is one which requires much mental capacity in the trainer, and the trainer is usually the mother. In imparting this training the mother herself practices keen observation, the comparative study of her different children, patience, and a gentle decisiveness which is quite as much an intellectual as a moral trait. The mother of several children—four, five, or six—has better opportunities of developing her own intellectual life than the mother of one child or two children; because in a large family there are always great differences of disposition and capacity among the children, and the children react on each other and on their mother in more ways, and more interesting ways.

So soon as the schooling of the children begins numerous intellectual problems are set from day to day for the parents. Any mother who follows the

mental development of five or six children at school will get herself a second schooling greatly superior to her first. If a son or a daughter goes on to college the sympathetic mother will find her own mind enlarged and informed. Again, when her children begin in their turn to mate, all the intellectual force the mother possesses will come into play. It is a lively and profitable mental exercise to keep in touch with the successively-developed interests of a group of children from five to twenty years of age. The mother should stimulate and direct their growing mental powers. She should train them in habits of order, industry and consideration for others. She should teach her children self-control and the spirit of coöperation. She cannot perform well the combined functions of mother and teacher unless she learns to be just. Now, to be just involves not only righteous purpose and good feeling, but also sound thinking. To command clearly, refuse firmly and praise warmly require a ready mind.

Of course, to win most of these opportunities for mental exercise and growth it is by no means necessary that a woman should have been married. Many an unmarried woman wins them all by taking care of other people's children.

It generally falls to the share of the woman in the family to keep up what are called the social relations, and to decide on the families with which she will maintain friendly or intimate relations. This function is a laborious and interesting one in all walks of life. Among well-to-do people it is well recognized that this function requires for its

proper discharge much thought and industry in addition to natural gifts. It is just the same in the lowest layer of society and in all the layers between the highest and the lowest, except that social discrimination and selection are expressed in different ways in the different layers. The grounds of discrimination, attraction and repulsion are different in the different layers; but they are quite as apt to be sound and edifying at the bottom as at what is called the top. In every walk of life it is a matter of active discrimination and constant care to secure for one's children associations which will be apt to improve and lift them as the years go on.

The competent mother of a properly ambitious family has in these days another high task before her in directing and stimulating the training of her entire family to the intelligent use of books and other reading matter. No matter where she lives, in city, or country, or on an island in the sea, she can use first-rate mental powers in exercising this influence over her children. The evening is the most available time for discharging this educational function; and many a family in the humblest walks of life secures in this way, through the intelligent action of the mother, a satisfaction which lasts them all their lives, and is transmitted to their descendants.

There is another function of the home-maker which has its intellectual side, namely, the cultivation in children of the sense of beauty, and of the enjoyment of beautiful objects. In most families —rich and poor alike—this function falls to the woman. In the poorest houses one often sees in the southerly window some flowering plants raised

in tin cans and broken pieces of crockery, but cultivated with remarkable success by the wife and mother. A single oleander-bush will be tended a whole year by the old wife whose children have left home—with much labor in winter to protect it from frost, because the kitchen is the only tolerably warm room at night—just for the sake of three weeks of flowers. It is generally the mother of the family who keeps flowers blooming in the village house-lot, or in the grounds just about the solitary farmhouse. In the houses of the rich a florist will be employed to keep the windows filled with flowering plants all winter and the garden all summer.

How many people remember all their lives the peculiar fragrance of grandmother's garden, and the selection of flowers in which she delighted! In the scattered houses in the country it is the woman who buys of the traveling pedler the illuminated text of Scripture and the chromos of foreign scenery for the decoration of her walls. The houses of the rich are adorned with beautiful fabrics, etchings, paintings, china and glass provided by and for women. Thinking of such objects, and working for such ends, is an intellectual pleasure, and a civilizing influence for the household and the neighborhood.

It will be observed that the women who are most apt to lose their chances of obtaining their intellectual life as mothers and heads of families are those who are able to employ servants, nurses, and governesses to do their work for them. They do not so surely secure the natural opportunities for mental growth which the direct and unaided care of

children provides. It is the mothers who intrust their children to hired persons, in order that they themselves may have leisure for outdoor pleasures, card parties, dinners, balls, theaters, concerts and the like, that miss the natural sources of womanly growth in mental power and influence. Of course such women can find other sources of enlargement not so natural, but yet available for a different sort of intellectual development.

At the other end of the social scale many women are so involved in manual household labor, or in earning a livelihood for their families, that they miss in good part their opportunities for intellectual development; but this is because the lower and less instructive part of their natural duties excludes the higher, or because the man has not done his share toward the family support and cultivation.

It may be thought that the means of intellectual life here described differ from those which men enjoy in their professions or trades, in that they are more mixed with moral qualities and motives; but it may well be doubted if such is the fact. In every profession and occupation, whether ordinarily called intellectual or manual, there is a large moral element without which the mental training which the occupation or profession provides is hardly worth having. Indeed, many activities called intellectual are really sterile, whereas all intellectual achievement in the household or family is likely to be immediately serviceable and productive.

Because of the sacredness of family life and its supreme importance for the progress of the race, the admixture of holy sentiments and aspirations

with the labors of a mother seems more intimate and essential than with any other human labors; but this fact has no tendency to diminish the value of the intellectual part of that occupation.

The value of any occupation, whether the occupation of a million human beings or of one human being, is best judged by its product. If we apply this standard to the occupation of a normal woman who brings up four or five dutiful, thoughtful and loving children, shall we not conclude that her occupation is the most precious in the world, no matter how we settle the question whether heredity or environment is the more influential factor in determining the quality of each new generation? The woman exerts both these influences. This is as true for a million women as it is for one.

It is a solid fact, which has been but imperfectly apprehended by mankind, that this most precious occupation is full of opportunities for training the reasoning powers through practice in observing, comparing, discriminating and choosing. This is the reason that we may fairly judge the real civilization of any race by the way it has treated, and is treating, its women. This is the reason that we always ask about any unusually serviceable man or woman—who was the mother? This is the reason that the Christian nations of the world have made more progress than the others toward public justice and public happiness. They have a higher estimate than the other nations have of the intellectual and moral capacities of women, and of the dignity and informing quality of their normal occupation.

1908

THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE

As students in this summer's School of Theology you have attended a series of lectures on fluctuations in religious interest, on the frequent occurrence of religious declines followed soon by recoveries or regenerations both within and without the churches, on the frequent attempts to bring the prevalent religious doctrines into harmony with new tendencies in the intellectual world, on the constant struggle between conservatism and liberalism in existing churches and between idealism and materialism in society at large, on the effects of popular education and the modern spirit of inquiry on religious doctrines and organizations, on the changed views of thinking people concerning the nature of the world and of man, on the increase of knowledge as affecting religion, and on the new ideas of God. You have also listened to lectures on psychotherapy, a new development of an ancient tendency to mix religion with medicine, and on the theory of evolution, a modern scientific doctrine which within fifty years has profoundly modified the religious conceptions and expectations of many thinking people. You have heard, too, how the new ideas of democracy and social progress have modified and

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ought to modify not only the actual work done by the churches, but the whole conception of the function of churches. Again, you have heard how many and how profound are the religious implications in contemporary philosophy. Your attention has been called to the most recent views concerning the conservation of energy in the universe, to the wonderful phenomena of radio-activity, and to the most recent definitions of atom, molecule, ion, and electron—human imaginings which have much to do with the modern conceptions of matter and spirit. The influence on popular religion of modern scholarship applied to the New Testament has also engaged your attention; and, finally, you have heard an exposition of religious conditions and practices in the United States which assumed an intimate connection between the advance of civilization and the contemporaneous aspects of religions, and illustrated from history the service of religion—and particularly of Christianity—to the progress of civilization through its contributions to individual freedom, intellectual culture, and social co-operation.

The general impression you have received from this comprehensive survey must surely be that religion is not a fixed, but a fluent thing. It is, therefore, wholly natural and to be expected that the conceptions of religion prevalent among educated people should change from century to century. Modern studies in comparative religion and in the history of religions demonstrate that such has been the case in times past. Now the nineteenth century immeasurably surpassed all preceding centuries in

the increase of knowledge, and in the spread of the spirit of scientific inquiry and of the passion for truth-seeking. Hence the changes in religious beliefs and practices, and in the relation of churches to human society as a whole, were much deeper and more extensive in that century than ever before in the history of the world; and the approach made to the embodiment in the actual practices of mankind of the doctrines of the greatest religious teachers was more significant and more rapid than ever before. The religion of a multitude of humane persons in the twentieth century may, therefore, be called without inexcusable exaggeration a "new religion,"—not that a single one of its doctrines and practices is really new in essence, but only that the wider acceptance and better actual application of truths familiar in the past at many times and places, but never taken to heart by the multitude or put in force on a large scale, are new. I shall attempt to state without reserve and in simplest terms free from technicalities, first, what the religion of the future seems likely not to be, and, secondly, what it may reasonably be expected to be. My point of view is that of an American layman, whose observing and thinking life has covered the extraordinary period since the *Voyage of the Beagle* was published, anæsthesia and the telegraph came into use, Herbert Spencer issued his first series of papers on evolution, Kuenen, Robertson, Smith, and Wellhausen developed and vindicated Biblical criticism, J. S. Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* appeared, and the United States by going to war with Mexico set in operation the forces which abolished

slavery on the American continent—the period within which mechanical power came to be widely distributed through the explosive engine and the applications of electricity, and all the great fundamental industries of civilized mankind were reconstructed.

1. The religion of the future will not be based on authority, either spiritual or temporal. The decline of the reliance upon absolute authority is one of the most significant phenomena of the modern world. This decline is to be seen everywhere,—in government, in education, in the church, in business, and in the family. The present generation is willing, and indeed often eager, to be led; but it is averse to being driven, and it wants to understand the grounds and sanctions of authoritative decisions. As a rule, the Christian churches, Roman, Greek, and Protestant, have heretofore relied mainly upon the principle of authority, the Reformation having substituted for an authoritative church an authoritative book; but it is evident that the authority both of the most authoritative churches and of the Bible as a verbally inspired guide is already greatly impaired, and that the tendency towards liberty is progressive, and among educated men irresistible.

2. It is hardly necessary to say that in the religion of the future there will be no personifications of the primitive forces of nature, such as light, fire, frost, wind, storm, and earthquake, although primitive religions and the actual religions of barbarous or semi-civilized peoples abound in such personifications. The mountains, groves, volcanoes, and

oceans will no longer be inhabited by either kindly or malevolent deities; although man will still look to the hills for rest, still find in the ocean a symbol of infinity, and refreshment and delight in the forests and the streams. The love of nature mounts and spreads, while faith in fairies, imps, nymphs, demons, and angels declines and fades away.

3. There will be in the religion of the future no worship, express or implied, of dead ancestors, teachers, or rulers; no tribal, racial, or tutelary gods; no identification of any human being, however majestic in character, with the Eternal Deity. In these respects the religion of the future will not be essentially new, for nineteen centuries ago Jesus said, "Neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father . . . God is a Spirit; and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth." It should be recognized, however, first, that Christianity was soon deeply affected by the surrounding paganism, and that some of these pagan intrusions have survived to this day; and, secondly, that the Hebrew religion, the influence of which on the Christian has been, and is, very potent, was in the highest degree a racial religion, and its Holy of Holies was local. In war-times, that is, in times when the brutal or savage instincts remaining in humanity become temporarily dominant, and good will is limited to people of the same nation, the survival of a tribal or national quality in institutional Christianity comes out very plainly. The aid of the Lord of Hosts is still invoked by both parties to international warfare, and each side praises and thanks Him for its successes. Indeed,

the same spirit has often been exhibited in civil wars caused by religious differences.

"Now glory to the Lord of Hosts, from whom all glories are!
And glory to our sovereign liege, King Henry of Navarre!"

It is not many years since an Archbishop of Canterbury caused thanks to be given in all Anglican churches that the Lord of Hosts had been in the English camp over against the Egyptians. Heretofore the great religions of the world have held out hopes of direct interventions of the deity, or some special deity, in favor of his faithful worshippers. It was the greatest of Jewish prophets who told King Hezekiah that the King of Assyria, who had approached Jerusalem with a great army, should not come into the city nor shoot an arrow there, and reported the Lord as saying, "I will defend this city to save it, for my own sake, and for my servant David's sake." "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." The new religion cannot promise that sort of aid to either nations or individuals in peril.

4. In the religious life of the future the primary object will not be the personal welfare or safety of the individual in this world or any other. That safety, that welfare or salvation, may be incidentally secured, but it will not be the prime object in view. The religious person will not think of his

own welfare or security, but of service to others, and of contributions to the common good. The new religion will not teach that character is likely to be suddenly changed, either in this world or in any other,—although in any world a sudden opportunity for improvement may present itself, and the date of that opportunity may be a precious remembrance. The new religion will not rely on either a sudden conversion in this world or a sudden paradise in the next, from out a sensual, selfish, or dishonest life. It will teach that repentance wipes out nothing in the past, and is only the first step towards reformation, and a sign of a better future.

5. The religion of the future will not be propitiatory, sacrificial, or expiatory. In primitive society fear of the supernal powers, as represented in the awful forces of nature, was the root of religion. These dreadful powers must be propitiated or placated, and they must be propitiated by sacrifices in the most literal sense; and the supposed offences of man must be expiated by sufferings, which were apt to be vicarious. Even the Hebrews offered human sacrifices for generations; and always a great part of their religious rites consisted in sacrifices of animals. The Christian church made a great step forward when it substituted the burning of incense for the burning of bullocks and doves; but to this day there survives not only in the doctrines but in the practices of the Christian church the principle of expiatory sacrifice. It will be an immense advance if twentieth-century Christianity can be purified from all these survivals of bar-

barous, or semi-barbarous, religious conceptions; because they imply such an unworthy idea of God.

6. The religion of the future will not perpetuate the Hebrew anthropomorphic representations of God, conceptions which were carried in large measure into institutional Christianity. It will not think of God as an enlarged and glorified man, who walks "in the garden in the cool of the day," or as a judge deciding between human litigants, or as a king, Pharaoh, or emperor, ruling arbitrarily his subjects, or as the patriarch who, in the early history of the race, ruled his family absolutely. These human functions will cease to represent adequately the attributes of God. The nineteenth century has made all these conceptions of deity look archaic and crude.

7. The religion of the future will not be gloomy, ascetic, or maledictory. It will not deal chiefly with sorrow and death, but with joy and life. It will not care so much to account for the evil and the ugly in the world as to interpret the good and the beautiful. It will believe in no malignant powers —neither in Satan nor in witches, neither in the evil eye nor in the malign suggestion. When its disciple encounters a wrong or evil in the world, his impulse will be to search out its origin, source, or cause, that he may attack it at its starting-point. He may not speculate on the origin of evil in general, but will surely try to discover the best way to eradicate the particular evil or wrong he has recognized.

Having thus considered what the religion of the future will not be, let us now consider what its positive elements will be.

The new thought of God will be its most characteristic element. This ideal will comprehend the Jewish Jehovah, the Christian Universal Father, the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless Energy, and the biological conception of a Vital Force. The Infinite Spirit pervades the universe, just as the spirit of a man pervades his body, and acts, consciously or unconsciously, in every atom of it. The twentieth century will accept literally and implicitly St. Paul's statement, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being," and God is that vital atmosphere, or incessant inspiration. The new religion is therefore thoroughly monotheistic, its God being the one infinite force; but this one God is not withdrawn or removed, but indwelling, and especially dwelling in every living creature. God is so absolutely immanent in all things, animate and inanimate, that no mediation is needed between him and the least particle of his creation. In his moral attributes, he is for every man the multiplication to infinity of all the noblest, tenderest, and most potent qualities which that man has ever seen or imagined in a human being. In this sense every man makes his own picture of God. Every age, barbarous or civilized, happy or unhappy, improving or degenerating, frames its own conception of God with the limits of its own experiences and imaginings. In this sense, too, a humane religion has to wait for a humane generation. The central thought of the new religion will therefore be a humane and worthy idea of God, thoroughly consistent with the nineteenth-century revelations concerning man and nature, and with all

the tenderest and loveliest teachings which have come down to us from the past.

The scientific doctrine of one omnipresent, eternal Energy, informing and inspiring the whole creation at every instant of time and throughout the infinite spaces, is fundamentally and completely inconsistent with the dualistic conception which sets spirit over against matter, good over against evil, man's wickedness against God's righteousness, and Satan against Christ. The doctrine of God's immanence is also inconsistent with the conception that he once set the universe a-going, and then withdrew, leaving the universe to be operated under physical laws, which were his vicegerents or substitutes. If God is thoroughly immanent in the entire creation, there can be no "secondary causes," in either the material or the spiritual universe. The new religion rejects absolutely the conception that man is an alien in the world, or that God is alienated from the world. It rejects also the entire conception of man as a fallen being, hopelessly wicked, and tending downward by nature; and it makes this emphatic rejection of long-accepted beliefs because it finds them all inconsistent with a humane, civilized, or worthy idea of God.

If, now, man discovers God through self-consciousness, or, in other words, if it is the human soul through which God is revealed, the race has come to the knowledge of God through knowledge of itself; and the best knowledge of God comes through knowledge of the best of the race. Men have always attributed to man a spirit distinct from his body, though immanent in it. No one of us is

willing to identify himself with his body; but on the contrary every one now believes, and all men have believed, that there is in a man an animating, ruling, characteristic essence, or spirit, which is himself. This spirit, dull or bright, petty or grand, pure or foul, looks out of the eyes, sounds in the voice, and appears in the bearing and manners of each individual. It is something just as real as the body, and more characteristic. To every influential person it gives far the greater part of his power. It is what we call the personality. This spirit, or soul, is the most effective part of every human being, and is recognized as such, and always has been. It can use a fine body more effectively than it can a poor body, but it can do wonders through an inadequate body. In the crisis of a losing battle it is a human soul that rallies the flying troops. It looks out of flashing eyes, and speaks in ringing tones, but its appeal is to other souls, and not to other bodies. In the midst of terrible natural catastrophes,—earthquakes, storms, conflagrations, volcanic eruptions,—when men's best works are being destroyed and thousands of lives are ceasing suddenly and horribly, it is not a few especially good human bodies which steady the survivors, maintain order, and organize the forces of rescue and relief. It is a few superior souls. The leading men and women in any society, savage or civilized, are the strongest personalities,—the personality being primarily spiritual, and only secondarily bodily. Recognizing to the full these simple and obvious facts, the future religion will pay homage to all righteous and loving persons who in the past have exempli-

fied, and made intelligible to their contemporaries, intrinsic goodness and effluent good will. It will be an all-saints religion. It will treasure up all tales of human excellence and virtue. It will reverence the discoverers, teachers, martyrs, and apostles of liberty, purity, and righteousness. It will respect and honor all strong and lovely human beings,—seeing in them in finite measure qualities similar to those which they adore in God. Recognizing in every great and lovely human person individual will-power which is the essence of personality, it will naturally and inevitably attribute to God a similar individual will-power, the essence of his infinite personality. In this simple and natural faith there will be no place for metaphysical complexities or magical rites, much less for obscure dogmas, the result of compromises in turbulent conventions. It is anthropomorphic; but what else can a human view of God's personality be? The finite can study and describe the infinite only through analogy, parallelism, and simile; but that is a good way. The new religion will animate and guide ordinary men and women who are putting into practice religious conceptions which result directly from their own observation and precious experience of tenderness, sympathy, trust, and solemn joy. It will be most welcome to the men and women who cherish and exhibit incessant, all-comprehending good will. These are the "good" people. These are the only genuinely civilized persons.

To the wretched, sick, and downtrodden of the earth, religion has in the past held out hopes of future compensation. When precious ties of affec-

tion have been broken, religion has held out prospects of immediate and eternal blessings for the departed, and has promised happy reunions in another and a better world. To a human soul, lodged in an imperfect, feeble, or suffering body, some of the older religions have held out the expectation of deliverance by death, and of entrance upon a rich, competent, and happy life,—in short, for present human ills, however crushing, the widely accepted religions have offered either a second life, presumably immortal, under the happiest conditions, or at least peace, rest, and a happy oblivion. Can the future religion promise that sort of compensation for the ills of this world any more than it can promise miraculous aid against threatened disaster? A candid reply to this inquiry involves the statement that in the future religion there will be nothing "supernatural." This does not mean that life will be stripped of mystery or wonder, or that the range of natural law has been finally determined; but that religion, like all else, must conform to natural law so far as the range of law has been determined. In this sense the religion of the future will be a natural religion. In all its theory and all its practice it will be completely natural. It will place no reliance on any sort of magic, or miracle, or other violation of, or exception to, the laws of nature. It will perform no magical rites, use no occult processes, count on no abnormal interventions of supernal powers, and admit no possession of supernatural gifts, whether transmitted or conferred, by any tribe, class, or family of men. Its sacraments will be, not invasions of law by miracle, but the

visible signs of a natural spiritual grace, or of a natural hallowed custom. It may preserve historical rites and ceremonies, which, in times past, have represented the expectation of magical or miraculous effects; but it will be content with natural interpretations of such rites and ceremonies. Its priests will be men especially interested in religious thought, possessing unusual gifts of speech on devotional subjects, and trained in the best methods of improving the social and industrial conditions of human life. There will always be need of such public teachers and spiritual leaders, heralds, and prophets. It should be observed, however, that many happenings and processes which were formerly regarded as supernatural have, with the increase of knowledge, come to be regarded as completely natural. The line between the supposed natural and the supposed supernatural is, therefore, not fixed but changeable.

It is obvious, therefore, that the completely natural quality of the future religion excludes from it many of the religious compensations and consolations of the past. Twentieth-century soldiers, going into battle, will not be able to say to each other, as Moslem soldiers did in the tenth century, "If we are killed to-day, we shall meet again to-night in Paradise." Even now, the mother who loses her babe, or the husband his wife, by a preventable disease, is seldom able to say simply, "It is the will of God! The babe—or the woman—is better off in heaven than on earth. I resign this dear object of love and devotion, who has gone to a happier world." The ordinary consolations of

institutional Christianity no longer satisfy intelligent people whose lives are broken by the sickness or premature death of those they love. The new religion will not attempt to reconcile men and women to present ill by promises of future blessedness, either for themselves or for others. Such promises have done infinite mischief in the world, by inducing men to be patient under sufferings or deprivations against which they should have incessantly struggled. The advent of a just freedom for the mass of mankind has been delayed for centuries by just this effect of compensatory promises issued by churches.

The religion of the future will approach the whole subject of evil from another side, that of resistance and prevention. The Breton sailor, who had his arm poisoned by a dirty fish-hook which had entered his finger, made a votive offering at the shrine of the Virgin Mary, and prayed for a cure. The workman to-day, who gets cut or bruised by a rough or dirty instrument, goes to a surgeon, who applies an antiseptic dressing to the wound, and prevents the poisoning. That surgeon is one of the ministers of the new religion. When dwellers in a slum suffer the familiar evils caused by overcrowding, impure food, and cheerless labor, the modern true believers contend against the sources of such misery by providing public baths, playgrounds, wider and cleaner streets, better dwellings and more effective schools,—that is, they attack the sources of physical and moral evil. The new religion cannot supply the old sort of consola-

tion; but it can diminish the need of consolation, or reduce the number of occasions for consolation.

A further change in religious thinking has already occurred on the subject of human pain. Pain was generally regarded as a punishment for sin, or as a means of moral training, or as an expiation, vicarious or direct. Twentieth-century religion, gradually perfected in this respect during the last half of the nineteenth century, regards human pain as an evil to be relieved and prevented by the promptest means possible, and by any sort of available means, physical, mental, or moral; and, thanks to the progress of biological and chemical science, there is comparatively little physical pain nowadays which cannot be prevented or relieved. The invention of anæsthetics has brought into contempt the expiatory, or penal, view of human pain in this world. The younger generations listen with incredulous smiles to the objection made only a little more than sixty years ago by some divines of the Scottish Presbyterian church to the employment of chloroform in childbirth, namely, that the physicians were interfering with the execution of a curse pronounced by the Almighty. Dr. Weir Mitchell, a physician who has seen much of mental pain as well as of bodily, in his poem read at the fiftieth anniversary of the first public demonstration of surgical anæsthesia, said of pain:

"What purpose hath it? Nay, thy quest is vain:
Earth hath no answer: If the baffled brain
Cries, 'T is to warn, to punish, Ah, refrain!
When writhes the child, beneath the surgeon's hand,
What soul shall hope that pain to understand?

Lo! Science falters o'er the hopeless task,
And Love and Faith in vain an answer ask."

A similar change is occurring in regard to the conception of divine justice. The evils in this world have been regarded as penalties inflicted by a just God on human beings who had violated his laws; and the justice of God played a great part in his imagined dealings with the human race. A young graduate of Andover Theological Seminary once told me that when he had preached two or three times in summer in a small Congregational church on Cape Cod, one of the deacons of the church said to him at the close of the service, "What sort of sentimental mush is this that they are teaching you at Andover? You talk every Sunday about the love of God; we want to hear about His justice." The future religion will not undertake to describe, or even imagine, the justice of God. We are to-day so profoundly dissatisfied with human justice, although it is the result of centuries of experience of social good and ill in this world, that we may well distrust human capacity to conceive of the justice of a morally perfect, infinite being. The civilized nations now recognize the fact that legal punishments usually fail of their objects or cause wrongs and evils greater than those for which the punishments were inflicted; so that penology, or the science of penalties, has still to be created. It is only very lately that the most civilized communities began to learn how to deal with criminal tendencies in the young. In the eyes of God human beings must all seem very young. Since our ideas of God's modes of thinking and

acting are necessarily based on the best human attainments in similar directions, the new religion cannot pretend to understand God's justice, inasmuch as there is no human experience of public justice fit to serve as the foundation for a true conception of God's. The new religion will magnify and laud God's love and compassion, and will not venture to state what the justice of God may, or may not, require of himself, or of any of his finite creatures. This will be one of the great differences between the future religion and the past. Institutional Christianity as a rule condemned the mass of mankind to eternal torment; partly because the leaders of the churches thought they understood completely the justice of God, and partly because the exclusive possession of means of deliverance gave the churches some restraining influence over even the boldest sinners, and much over the timid. The new religion will make no such pretensions, and will teach no such horrible and perverse doctrines.

Do you ask what consolation for human ills the new religion will offer? I answer, the consolation which often comes to the sufferer from being more serviceable to others than he was before the loss or the suffering for which consolation is needed; the consolation of being one's self wiser and tenderer than before, and therefore more able to be serviceable to human kind in the best ways; the consolation through the memory, which preserves the sweet fragrance of characters and lives no longer in presence, recalls the joys and achievements of those lives while still within mortal view, and treasures up

and multiplies the good influences they exerted. Moreover, such a religion has no tendency to diminish the force in this world, or any other, of the best human imaginings concerning the nature of the infinite Spirit immanent in the universe. It urges its disciples to believe that as the best and happiest man is he who best loves and serves, so the soul of the universe finds its perfect bliss and efficiency in supreme and universal love and service. It sees evidence in the moral history of the human race that a loving God rules the universe. Trust in this supreme rule is genuine consolation and support under many human trials and sufferings. Nevertheless, although brave and patient endurance of evils is always admirable, and generally happier than timid or impatient conduct under suffering or wrong, it must be admitted that endurance or constancy is not consolation, and that there are many physical and mental disabilities and injuries for which there is no consolation in a literal sense. Human skill may mitigate or palliate some of them, human sympathy and kindness may make them more bearable, but neither religion nor philosophy offers any complete consolation for them, or ever has.

In thus describing the consolations for human woes and evils which such a religion can offer, its chief motives have been depicted. They are just those which Jesus said summed up all the commandments, love toward God and brotherliness to man. It will teach a universal good will, under the influence of which men will do their duty, and at the same time, promote their own happiness. The de-

votees of a religion of service will always be asking what they can contribute to the common good; but their greatest service must always be to increase the stock of good will among men. One of the worst of chronic human evils is working for daily bread without any interest in the work, and with ill will toward the institution or person that provides the work. The work of the world must be done; and the great question is, shall it be done happily or unhappily? Much of it is to-day done unhappily. The new religion will contribute powerfully toward the reduction of this mass of unnecessary misery, and will do so chiefly by promoting good will among men.

A paganized Hebrew-Christianity has unquestionably made much of personal sacrifice as a religious duty. The new religion will greatly qualify the supposed duty of sacrifice, and will regard all sacrifices as unnecessary and injurious, except those which love dictates and justifies. "Greater *love* hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Self-sacrifice is not a good or a merit in itself; it must be intelligent and loving to be meritorious, and the object in view must be worth its price. Giving up attractive pleasures or labors in favor of some higher satisfaction, or some engrossing work, is not self-sacrifice. It is a renunciation of inferior or irrelevant objects in favor of one superior object; it is only the intelligent inhibition of whatever distracts from the main pursuit, or the worthiest task. Here, again, the new religion will teach that happiness goes with dutifulness even in this world.

All the religions have been, to a greater or less

extent, uplifting and inspiring, in the sense that they raised men's thoughts to some power above them, to some being or beings, which had more power and more duration than the worshippers had. When kings or emperors were deified, they were idealized, and so lifted men's thoughts out of the daily round of their ordinary lives. As the objects of worship became nobler, purer, and kinder with the progress of civilization, the prevailing religion became more stimulating to magnanimity and righteousness. Will the future religion be as helpful to the spirit of man? Will it touch his imagination as the anthropomorphism of Judaism, polytheism, Islam, and paganized Christianity have done? Can it be as moving to the human soul as the deified powers of nature, the various gods and goddesses that inhabited sky, ocean, mountains, groves, and streams, or the numerous deities revered in the various Christian communions,—God the Father, the Son of God, the Mother of God, the Holy Ghost, and the host of tutelary saints? All these objects of worship have greatly moved the human soul, and have inspired men to thoughts and deeds of beauty, love, and duty. Will the new religion do as much? It is reasonable to expect that it will. The sentiments of awe and reverence, and the love of beauty and goodness, will remain, and will increase in strength and influence. All the natural human affections will remain in full force. The new religion will foster powerfully a virtue which is comparatively new in the world—the love of truth and the passion for seeking it, and the truth will progressively make men free; so that the

coming generations will be freer, and therefore more productive and stronger than the preceding. The new religionists will not worship their ancestors; but they will have a stronger sense of the descent of the present from the past than men have ever had before, and each generation will feel more strongly than ever before its indebtedness to the preceding.

The two sentiments which most inspire men to good deeds are love and hope. Religion should give freer and more rational play to these two sentiments than the world has heretofore witnessed; and the love and hope will be thoroughly grounded in and on efficient, serviceable, visible, actual, and concrete deeds and conduct. When a man works out a successful treatment for cerebro-spinal meningitis—a disease before which medicine was absolutely helpless a dozen years ago—by applying to the discovery of a remedy ideas and processes invented or developed by other men studying other diseases, he does a great work of love, prevents for the future the breaking of innumerable ties of love, and establishes good grounds for hope of many like benefits for human generations to come. The men who do such things in the present world are ministers of the religion of the future. The future religion will prove, has proved, as effective as any of the older ones in inspiring men to love and serve their fellow-beings,—and that is the true object and end of all philosophies and all religions; for that is the way to make men better and happier, alike the servants and the served.

The future religion will have the attribute of

universality and of adaptability to the rapidly increasing stores of knowledge and power over nature acquired by the human race. As the religion of a child is inevitably very different from that of an adult, and must grow up with the child, so the religion of a race whose capacities are rapidly enlarging must be capable of a corresponding development. The religion of any single individual ought to grow up with him all the way from infancy to age; and the same is true of the religion of a race. It is bad for any people to stand still in their governmental conceptions and practices, or in the organization of their industries, or in any of their arts or trades, even the oldest; but it is much worse for a people to stand still in their religious conceptions and practices. Now, the new religion affords an indefinite scope, or range, for progress and development. It rejects all the limitations of family, tribal, or national religion. It is not bound to any dogma, creed, book or institution. It has the whole world for the field of the loving labors of its disciples; and its fundamental precept of serviceableness admits an infinite variety and range in both time and space. It is very simple, and therefore possesses an important element of durability. It is the complicated things that get out of order. Its symbols will not relate to sacrifice or dogma; but it will doubtless have symbols, which will represent its love of liberty, truth, and beauty. It will also have social rites and reverent observances; for it will wish to commemorate the good thoughts and deeds which have come down from former generations. It will have its saints; but its

canonizations will be based on grounds somewhat new. It will have its heroes; but they must have shown a loving, disinterested, or protective courage. It will have its communions, with the Great Spirit, with the spirits of the departed, and with living fellow-men of like minds. Working together will be one of its fundamental ideas,—of men with God, of men with prophets, leaders, and teachers, of men with one another, of men's intelligence with the forces of nature. It will teach only such uses of authority as are necessary to secure the cooperation of several or many people to one end; and the discipline it will advocate will be training in the development of coöperative good will.

Will such a religion as this make progress in the twentieth-century world? You have heard in this Summer School of Theology much about the conflict between materialism and religious idealism, the revolt against long-accepted dogmas, the frequent occurrence of waves of reform, sweeping through and sometimes over the churches, the effect of modern philosophy, ethical theories, social hopes, and democratic principles on the established churches, and the abandonment of churches altogether by a large proportion of the population in countries mainly Protestant. You know, too, how other social organizations have, in some considerable measure, taken the place of churches. Millions of Americans find in Masonic organizations, lodges of Odd Fellows, benevolent and fraternal societies, granges, and trades-unions, at once their practical religion, and the satisfaction of their social needs. So far as these multifarious organizations carry

men and women out of their individual selves, and teach them mutual regard and social and industrial coöperation, they approach the field and functions of the religion of the future. The Spiritualists, Christian Scientists, and mental healers of all sorts manifest a good deal of ability to draw people away from the traditional churches, and to discredit traditional dogmas and formal creeds. Nevertheless, the great mass of the people remain attached to the traditional churches, and are likely to remain so,—partly because of their tender associations with churches in the grave crises of life, and partly because their actual mental condition still permits them to accept the beliefs they have inherited or been taught while young. The new religion will therefore make but slow progress, so far as outward organization goes. It will, however, progressively modify the creeds and religious practices of all the existing churches, and change their symbolism and their teachings concerning the conduct of life. Since its chief doctrine is the doctrine of a sublime unity of substance, force, and spirit, and its chief precept is, Be serviceable, it will exert a strong uniting influence among men.

Christian unity has always been longed for by devout believers, but has been sought in impossible ways. Authoritative churches have tried to force everybody within their range to hold the same opinions and unite in the same observances, but they have won only temporary and local successes. As freedom has increased in the world, it has become more and more difficult to enforce even outward conformity; and in countries where church and state

have been separated, a great diversity of religious opinions and practices has been expressed in different religious organizations, each of which commands the effective devotion of a fraction of the population. Since it is certain that men are steadily gaining more and more freedom in thought, speech, and action, civilized society might as well assume that it will be quite impossible to unite all religiously minded people through any dogma, creed, ceremony, observance or ritual. All these are divisive, not uniting, wherever a reasonable freedom exists. The new religion proposes as a basis of unity, first, its doctrine of an immanent and loving God, and, secondly, its precept, Be serviceable to fellow-men. Already there are many signs in the free countries of the world that different religious denominations can unite in good work to promote human welfare. The support of hospitals, dispensaries, and asylums by persons connected with all sorts of religious denominations, the union of all denominations in carrying on Associated Charities in large cities, the success of the Young Men's Christian Associations, and the numerous efforts to form federations of kindred churches for practical purposes, all testify to the feasibility of extensive coöperation in good works. Again, the new religion cannot create any caste, ecclesiastical class, or exclusive sect founded on a rite. On these grounds it is not unreasonable to imagine that the new religion will prove a unifying influence and a strong reinforcement of democracy.

Whether it will prove as efficient to deter men from doing wrong and to encourage them to do

right as the prevailing religions have been, is a question which only experience can answer. In these two respects neither the threats nor the promises of the older religions have been remarkably successful in society at large. The fear of hell has not proved effective to deter men from wrong-doing, and heaven has never yet been described in terms very attractive to the average man or woman. Both are indeed unimaginable. The great geniuses, like Dante and Swedenborg, have produced only fantastic and incredible pictures of either state. The modern man would hardly feel any appreciable loss of motive-power toward good or away from evil if heaven were burnt and hell quenched. The prevailing Christian conceptions of heaven and hell have hardly any more influence with educated people in these days than Olympus and Hades have. The modern mind craves an immediate motive or leading good for to-day on this earth. The new religion builds on the actual experience of men and women and of human society as a whole. The motive powers it relies on have been, and are, at work in innumerable human lives; and its beatific visions and its hopes are better grounded than those of traditional religion, and finer,—because free from all selfishness, and from the imagery of governments, courts, social distinctions, and war.

Finally, this twentieth-century religion is not only to be in harmony with the great secular movements of modern society—democracy, individualism, social idealism, the zeal for education, the spirit of research, the modern tendency to welcome the new, the fresh powers of preventive medicine, and the re-

cent advances in business and industrial ethics—but also in essential agreement with the direct, personal teachings of Jesus, as they are reported in the Gospels. The revelation He gave to mankind thus becomes more wonderful than ever.

1909

GREAT RICHES

SINCE the Civil War a new kind of rich man has come into existence in the United States. He is very much richer than anybody ever was before, and his riches are, in the main, of a new kind. They are not great areas of land, or numerous palaces, or flocks and herds, or thousands of slaves, or masses of chattels. They are in part city rents, but chiefly stocks and bonds of corporations, and bonds of states, counties, cities, and towns. These riches carry with them of necessity no visible or tangible responsibility, and bring upon their possessor no public or semi-public functions.

The rich men are neither soldiers nor sailors; they are not magistrates, or legislators, or church dignitaries. They are not landlords in the old sense; and they never lead their tenants into battle as did the feudal chiefs. They have no public functions of an importance commensurate with their riches. They are not subject to the orders and caprices of a sovereign, or forced to contend with the intrigues and vices of a court. Such occupations as they have, in addition to the making of more money, they have to invent themselves. The public admires and envies them, and sees that they are often serviceable, but also criticizes and blames them, and to some extent fears them. It is dis-

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posed to think them dangerous to the Republic and a blot on democratic society; but at the same time is curious about their doings and their mode of life, and is in rather a puzzle about their moral quality. I propose to consider briefly some of the advantages and disadvantages which great modern riches bring the owner and the community.

COMFORTS

THE modern very rich man can, of course, procure for himself and his family every comfort. He can secure invariably all possible comfortable provisions in every place where he dwells,—in his own houses, or in hotels, trains, and steamers; but still his wealth will not ordinarily procure for him greater personal comfort than persons of moderate fortune can command. A twelve-dollar chair may be just as comfortable as a fifty-dollar chair. There is pleasure in living in a palace; but when its inmates want to be comfortable they get into the small rooms,—into the boudoir, or the little writing-room, or the low-studded small parlor. A soft bed is for many persons not so comfortable as a hard one. In short, adequate warmth and light, appropriate clothing, good bedding, good plumbing, and nice chairs, tables, and household fittings sufficient to insure bodily comfort, are easily within the reach of all well-to-do persons; and great riches can do no more for their possessor in the way of comfort. The least physical ailment, like a gouty toe, or a dull ear, or a decayed tooth, will subtract more from comfort than all the riches in the world can add.

PLEASURES

With pleasures it is different. Some real pleasures are very expensive, and only great riches can procure them. For instance, the unobstructed and impregnable possession of a fine natural landscape is a great pleasure which the very rich man can secure for himself by his private means; whereas the poor man, or the man of moderate means, can enjoy such a privilege only by availing himself of great public domains, or of unoccupied regions; and there his own privilege will not be secure, or transmissible to descendants. The very rich man can provide himself with music and the drama without regard to their cost; but it by no means requires very great riches to procure a quite adequate amount of these pleasures. Such pleasures as involve the purchase and maintenance of very costly machines like yachts, or large automobiles, or of great stables filled with fine horses and carriages, or of large greenhouses and gardens, may be enjoyed in their extremes only by the very rich; but then, on a smaller scale, similar pleasures may be equally enjoyed by persons who are only moderately well-off, and often the larger scale does not add to the pleasure. An active boy in a knock-about twenty feet long may easily get more fun out of racing or cruising than his fifty-year-old father can get out of his six-hundred-ton steam yacht. The young lawyer who is fond of riding may easily get more pleasure out of his single saddle horse, kept at a club stable, than the multi-millionaire gets from his forty horses and twenty different carriages.

One advantage the very rich man undoubtedly has. Many so-called pleasures pall after a little while. The possessor of numerous horses and carriages, for example, finds that he has no pleasure in driving or riding. He is tired of it all. Or, to his surprise, he finds his yacht a bore, and, on the whole, a plague. Then he can cast aside the pleasure which is no longer a pleasure, and take up with some new fad or fever. He can utterly disregard cost in turning from one pleasure to another. He can seize on costly novelties which promise a new pleasurable sensation, and experiment with them on a small chance of winning some satisfaction. This is assuredly a freedom which great riches bring; but it is not a very valuable freedom. One steady, permanent outdoor pleasure, if pursued with unflagging delight, is worth many shifting transitory pleasures.

The public does not grudge their pleasures to the very rich, provided they can be pursued without harming others. Indeed, the public approves all the manly outdoor, risky sports of the rich, if not inconsiderately pursued, and rather prefers the very rich man who is extravagant in these ways to one who has no interest in sports.

The pleasure of traveling is one which is open to the very rich, and this is in general an instructive and enlarging pleasure. The length of the traveler's purse is, however, the least important item in his equipment. The main items are eyes to see beauty, ears to appreciate music, a memory stored with historical information, and power to talk with the peoples visited. The very rich man, although

poorly equipped, will do well to travel far and often; but his relatively impecunious neighbor who is mentally well prepared for foreign travel will far better enjoy his journeyings, although they be much cheaper than the rich man's.

LUXURIES

When it comes to what are called luxuries, the very rich have undoubtedly an advantage over other people, if one can imagine the possession and use of a luxury to be in any sense an advantage. Thus, the very rich can procure for themselves all sorts of rare and delicious foods and drinks. They can have fruits and vegetables out of season, and fish and game brought from afar. They can drink the finest champagne, or claret, or Rhine wine, or cordial, without ever considering its cost. Indeed, they may prefer a costly drink, and enjoy it more, just for the reason that it is costly.

These pleasures of the palate the man of moderate means can only enjoy in brief seasons or at long intervals. It may be doubted, however, whether the very rich man gets any more pleasure from his palate and his organs of smell in the course of the year than the man who is compelled to follow the changes of the season in the selection of his foods and drinks. Strawberries in January are not so good as strawberries in June, and strawberries for two months of the year, changing to raspberries, currants, blueberries, and blackberries, may give more gratification on the whole than strawberries for six months of the year. The same

thing may be said concerning the enjoyment of flowers and flowering plants in the house. The very rich man can order from some florist a profusion of flowers for all the rooms in his house through the entire season. The regular commercial flowers like roses, carnations, violets, chrysanthemums, and so forth, will be supplied in great quantities, and the spring flowers will be forced in greenhouses, and will appear in the drawing-room in January and February. These beautiful objects will adorn the very rich man's rooms the year round, and their fragrance will penetrate every part of his house. He and his family will enjoy them; but it is doubtful whether he will get so much pleasure out of all this hired decoration as the owner of one little garden and one little glass bow window will get out of his few beds, pots, and vases filled with only seasonable blooms, all of which he has worked over and cared for himself. At any rate, it is a different kind of pleasure, and not so keen and inexhaustible. Money indeed can buy these beautiful objects, but money cannot buy the capacity to enjoy them. That capacity may or may not go with the possession of the money.

OBJECTS OF BEAUTY

THERE are, however, luxuries of a rarer sort which the very rich man can secure for himself and his family, while the poor man, or the man of moderate means, cannot procure them at all. Such a luxury is the ownership of beautiful, artistic objects,—of fine pictures, etchings, statuary, or beautiful examples of ceramic art.

To have these objects in one's house within reach, or often before the eyes, is a great luxury, if their possessor has eyes to see their beauty. This is a clear advantage which the very rich man may have over a man of small means. When, however, the accumulator of great riches is an uneducated man, as is often the case, he is little likely to possess the intellectual quality which is indispensable to the enjoyment of the fine arts. This is one of the reasons that the newly rich are apt to be ridiculed or despised. They are thought to be people who are pecuniarily able to gratify fine tastes, but have no such tastes.

The possession of beautiful and costly jewels is a luxury which rich people—whether educated or ignorant—often seem to enjoy. They like to see their women decked with beautiful gems. It is to be said in behalf of this luxury that it is a gratification which does no bodily harm to anybody, and gives pleasure to many observers besides the possessor of the jewels. The only criticism which can be made on indulgence in this luxury is that the money it costs might have been more productive of human happiness if spent in other ways. A million dollars worth of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls might have endowed a school or a hospital, or have made a mill or a foundry a healthy place to work in instead of an unhealthy one, or have provided a public playground for many generations to enjoy. Nevertheless, in some measure nearly every one enjoys this particular luxury, whether in savage or in civilized society.

AIDS TO HEALTH

In the care of health—their own and that of those they love—very rich people have certain indisputable advantages, although they also suffer from peculiar exposure to the diseases consequent on luxury and ennui. Thus, they are under no necessity of enduring excessive labor, but can order their daily lives so as to avoid all strains and excesses in work. Moreover, if any physical evil befall them or those they love, they can procure all possible aids in the way of skilled attendants and medical or surgical advice; and they can procure for themselves and their families any advised change of scene or climate, and procure it at the right moment, and in the most comfortable way. Lord Roseberry has pointed out that this freedom to spend money for aids in case of sickness or accident is the chief advantage the rich man has over the poor man; but it should be observed that one need not be very rich in order to procure these advantages in case of illness or accident. Moreover, remedies for disease are a poor substitute for health. The ability to pay for any amount of massage is an imperfect compensation for the loss of enjoyable use of the muscles in work and play, or for the exhaustion of the nervous system. No one who has had large means of observation can have failed to see that the very rich are by no means the healthiest and most vigorous members of the community. The uneducated rich seem to be peculiarly liable to medical delusions, perhaps because their wealth enables them to try in quick

succession all sorts of expensive cure-alls and quackeries. Their wealth has its own disadvantageous effects on their bodies. Thus, the keen pursuit of wealth is often exciting and exacting; to keep and defend great wealth is sometimes an anxious business; and if great riches bring with them a habit of self-indulgence and of luxurious living in general, it is well-nigh certain that the self-indulgent and luxurious person will suffer bodily evils which his plain-living neighbors will escape. Of course a wise rich man may escape all these perils of luxury. He may keep himself in good physical condition by all sorts of outdoor sports. He may do as the Duke of Wellington is said to have habitually done —provide elaborate French dishes for his guests at dinner, and himself eat two plain chops and a boiled potato; but such an habitual self-protection requires an unusual amount of will-power and prudence. Health being the chief blessing of life after the domestic affections, the fact that very rich people have no advantage over common people in respect to keeping their health, but rather are at a disadvantage, suggests strongly that there is a formidable discount on the possession of great riches.

SATISFACTIONS NOT DEPENDENT ON WEALTH

All thinking men and women get the main satisfactions of life, aside from the domestic joys, out of the productive work they do. It is therefore a pertinent inquiry—what occupations are open to the very rich, occupations from which they can get

solid satisfaction? In the first place, they can have, on a large scale, the satisfaction which accompanies the continuous accumulation of property. This satisfaction, however, is fortunately a very common one. The man or the woman who earns five or six hundred dollars a year and lays up a hundred dollars of this income, may enjoy this satisfaction to a high degree. It is a serious error to suppose that satisfaction in the acquisition of property is proportionate to the amount of property acquired. A man can be as eager and pleased over the accumulation of a few hundred dollars as he can be over a few million; just as it may be much more generous for one man or woman to give away five dollars than it is for another to give away five hundred thousand. That is the reason that property is so secure in a democracy. Almost everybody has some property; and the man who has a little will fight for that little as fiercely as the man who has a great deal. The passion for accumulation is doubtless highly gratified in the very rich man's case; and there is apparently a kind of pride which is gratified by the possession of monstrous sums merely because they are monstrous, just as some people seem to be gratified by being twitched through space at the rate of fifty miles an hour because it is fifty and not twenty. This well-nigh universal desire to acquire and accumulate is, of course, the source of the progressive prosperity of a vigorous and thrifty race. It provides what is called capital. The very rich man has unquestionably much more capacity in this direction than the average man. He accumulates on a much larger scale than the

average man, and in all probability, although his satisfaction is not proportionate to the size of his accumulations, he gets somewhat more satisfaction from this source than the man whose accumulations are small.

To build a palace at fifty years of age in city or country, and maintain it handsomely for his family, seems to be a natural performance for a very rich man. It is interesting to build a palace, and it affords some temporary occupation; but it is incredible that this achievement should give as much pleasure to the owner as a young mechanic gets who has saved a few hundred dollars, and then builds a six-room cottage, to which he brings a young wife. He, being skilful at his trade, builds the cottage largely with his own hands, and she, out of her savings, provides the household linen and her own wardrobe. The achievement of the mechanic and his wife is a personal one, hallowed by the most sacred loves and hopes. The palace is the rich owner's public triumph, finely executed by hired artists and laborers. It is a personal achievement only in an indirect way.

THE RICH MAN'S POWER

A GREAT capital at the disposal of a single will confers on its possessor power over the course of industrial development, over his fellowmen, and sometimes over the course of great public events like peace or war between nations. For some natures it is a real satisfaction to be thus a sort of Providence to multitudes of men and women, able

at pleasure to do them good or harm, to give them joy or pain, and in position to be feared or looked up to. Great capital directed by one mind may be compared to the mill pond above the dam, which stores power subject to the mill owner's direction. There is pleasure and satisfaction in directing such a power; and the greater the power, the greater may be the satisfaction. In giving this direction the great capitalist may find an enjoyable and strenuous occupation. For a conscientious, dutiful man a great sense of responsibility accompanies the possession of power, and this sense of responsibility may become so painful as to quite overcome all enjoyment of the power itself; but nevertheless we cannot but recognize the fact that the exercise of power gives pleasure and satisfaction without this drawback to men of arbitrary temperament, or of an inconsiderate disposition which takes no account of the needs or wishes of others.

The most successful businesses are those conducted by remarkably intelligent and just autocrats; and probably the same would be true of governments, if any mode had been invented of discovering and putting in place the desirable autocrats. The prevailing modes of discovery and selection, such as hereditary transmission, or election by a Pretorian guard or an army, have been so very unsuccessful that autocracy as a mode of government has justly fallen into disrepute. In business enterprises the existing modes of discovering and selecting autocrats seem to be better than in governments; for autocracy in business is often justified by its results. The autocrat in business is almost

invariably a capitalist; and when he possesses great riches he may be, and often is, highly serviceable to his community or his nation through his beneficial direction of accumulated and stored power. Whether he himself wins satisfaction through the exercise of his power depends on his temperament, disposition, and general condition of physical and moral health. When great riches are stored up in possession of one man, or one family, the power which resides in them can be directed by one mind into that channel, or those channels, where it can be made most effective, and this effective direction it is which brings out in high relief the usefulness of great riches.

What are ordinarily called benefactions—that is, gifts for beneficial uses—are, therefore, by no means the only benefits very rich men can confer on the community to which they belong. Any man who, by sound thinking and hard work, develops and carries on a productive industry, and by his good judgment makes that industry both profitable and stable, confers an immense benefit on society. This is indeed the best outcome of great riches.

IMPROVING THE LAND

Very rich men can, if they choose, win certain natural satisfactions which are not accessible to the poor or to the merely well-to-do. If they have the taste for such labors, they can improve fields and woods, brooks and ponds, make a barren soil fertile, raise the best breeds of cattle, horses, swine, and sheep, and in general add to the productive-

ness and beauty of a great estate. They can develop landscape beauty on a large scale, making broad tracts of country more beautiful and more enjoyable. Since earth-work is the most durable of all human works, the wise improvement of a great estate is a lasting contribution to human welfare and a worthy occupation of any man's time. It is a subject which will usefully employ all the senses of the keenest observer and the best judgment of a prudent but enthusiastic inventor and promoter. Whoever makes a farm, a forest, or a garden yield more than it did before has made a clear addition to mankind's control of nature. For persons who have a natural taste for such employments a keen gratification accompanies success in them. Very rich men can win this satisfaction with greater certainty than men who must always be considering whether the improvement they have projected will forthwith pay its cost.

There is, however, a serious drawback on the satisfaction very rich men can derive from improving their estates, namely, an uncertainty with regard to the maintenance of the improved estate in the family of its chief creator. In this country it is difficult to pass down to another generation large holdings of lands, at least with any assurance that the holdings will be kept. It frequently happens that no child of the rich man wishes, or is even willing, to keep up its father's establishment; and indeed, in many cases no child is really able to maintain the father's establishment, having received only a fraction of the father's capital. Estates inherited through three generations are rare in the

United States, particularly great estates brought together by very rich men. Ordinary farms are in a few cases transmitted through three generations, and some farms which have been lost to the family which made them are at times bought back in later generations by descendants of the original proprietors; but on the whole the transmission of landed estates from generation to generation is unusual in this country. Any rich man, therefore, who spends thought and money on the improvement of a large estate must always feel uncertain whether his fields and woods will remain in the possession of his family. In the neighborhood of large cities almost the only way to make sure that an estate, which the owner has greatly improved by his own thoughtfulness and skill, will remain in good condition is to get the estate converted into a public domain. On an estate which becomes public property the chances are that all improvements will be maintained and that care will be taken to preserve all its landscape beauties. It is only a generous and public-spirited man, however, who looks forward with satisfaction to this fate for fields and forests which have become dear to him.

THE HIGHER OPPORTUNITIES OF WEALTH

In some exceptional cases a rich man uses his riches in pursuit of intellectual satisfactions of his own, for the full attainment of which riches are necessary, but which are in no way connected with his capacity for accumulating property. Such a fortunate rich man, having acquired great wealth, uses

it to meet the costs of his own scientific investigations, or in acquiring a fine library on a subject to which he had devoted himself before he was rich; or he retires somewhat early in life from money-making and gives himself to study and authorship with every aid or facility which money can procure. These are the most fortunate of rich men. They obtain congenial intellectual satisfactions. They make themselves serviceable, and they have a better chance than most rich men of bringing up serviceable children.

It is obvious that very rich men have power to render services to the public which it is impossible for poor men or men of moderate incomes to render. They can endow churches, schools, universities, libraries, hospitals, museums, gardens, and parks with sums large enough to give these institutions stability and continuous usefulness. They can also come to the aid of private individuals who have suffered through illness, premature death of friends, or other disasters which justify helplessness. They can help widows and children bereft of their natural protectors and bread-winners. They can help young men and women to an education which will raise for the persons helped the whole level of their subsequent lives. All these things they can do on a scale impossible to men of moderate means. Great riches are constantly used in our country in all these ways to an extent which has never before been equalled, and which entitles the American very rich man to be recognized as a type by himself.

The first question which arises about this bene-

ficial use of great wealth is this: Does it give pleasure or satisfaction to the givers; and is this pleasure or satisfaction, if any, proportionate to the magnitude of the gifts? Does a man who gives $100,000 to a college or an academy get more pleasure from his gift than a man who gives $1,000, the first man being one hundred times richer than the second man? That there is real pleasure or satisfaction for the giver in his giving is altogether probable; and it is quite possible that the pleasure in large giving is proportionate to that largeness, although the pleasure of acquisition is not proportionate to the amount acquired. Experience seems to show that it is difficult for a very rich man to give away intelligently and with enjoyment as large a proportion of his income as a man in moderate circumstances can easily give away. The proportion of an income given away ought to mount rapidly with the increase of the income, but experience indicates that it does not. It is no easy task to select wisely objects for great benefactions and to give money to the selected objects without doing injury. Thus, to endow a church, unless with its building and equipment only, is generally a mischief, not a benefit. The giving of thoroughly good things, like education and opportunities for travel or healthful exercise, to young people who are not bound to the giver by ties of kinship is accompanied by great difficulties. It is easy to pauperize the individuals helped. It is easy to destroy their self-reliance and their capacity for productive labor.

GIVING BY MEN OF WEALTH

VERY rich men differ greatly with regard to their method of giving. Some give quickly, with slight investigation concerning the objects to which they give. Others make the most careful and thorough investigation before making gifts, employing experienced agents in their inquiries, and ascertaining the merits and demerits, the advantages and disadvantages, of the institution or society they think to aid. Some men of great wealth approach the whole subject of giving away money with conscientiousness and with a painful sense of responsibility for the use of wealth entrusted to them; and this sense of responsibility may greatly impair their comfort or satisfaction in the power to give. Other men, no richer, give away great sums without serious examination and without any oppressive sense that they hold their property in trust for the benefit of the community. One anxiety, which most conscientious givers on a large scale feel, is the anxiety lest, by coming with large gifts to the support of an institution or association, they impair what may be called the natural or constitutional resources of the institution or association—such, for example, as the giving power of the alumni of a college or the yield of the annual taxes or subscriptions in a church. It is commonly dangerous for a school, or college, or library to get the reputation of being the special charge of a very rich individual or family. On this account givers of large sums often make it a condition of their gifts that some other sum shall be procured simultaneously from other friends of the

institution. Every very rich man who is in the habit of making gifts to individuals and to institutions has met, in many instances, with a complete or partial defeat of his benevolent purpose; but most of these defeats or failures occur in attempts to aid individuals rather than institutions.

The nineteenth century witnessed a considerable change in the destination of endowments. Endowments for palliating some of the evils that afflict society used to be the commonest, such as endowments for almshouses, doles, and hospitals; but now endowments for various sorts of education—such as academies, colleges, free-lecture courses, libraries, and museums supply—have become the commonest; and these last forms are far the wisest, because they are much more than palliations of evil. They are creators and diffusers of good. Through this change the chance of the very rich man to do perpetual good with his money has been greatly increased; and surely the hope of doing some perpetual good with the product of one's intelligence, skill, and industry is one of the brightest of human hopes.

THE CHILDREN OF THE VERY RICH

The most serious disadvantage under which very rich people labor is in the bringing up of their children. It is well-nigh impossible for a very rich man to defend his children from habits of self-indulgence, laziness, and selfishness. The children are so situated, both at home and at school, that they have no opportunity of acquiring any habit of pro-

ductive labor. They do nothing for themselves, or for their parents and brothers and sisters. They have no means of acquiring the habit of coöperative work except in their sports, and in not all of those. The farmer's children coöperate from their tenderest years in the work of the household and the farm. The very rich man's child is absolutely deprived of that invaluable training. Moreover, the artificial training which a very rich man can buy in the market for his child is determined as to its quality, not by his own intelligence and wishes, but by what former generations have produced in the way of educational institutions and private tuition. The rich man can find no better school for his boy and girl than has been developed without his aid, and mostly by a preceding generation. When the multimillionaire comes to realize that he wants something for his child which the institutions of his time do not furnish, he can help to improve the defective institutions for the benefit of other people's children in subsequent years, but it is too late to improve them for his own children. The very rich man's sons know, first, that they will have no need of earning their living; secondly, that their father can, if he choose, enable them to marry early, and to continue to live, without any exertion on their part, in the same luxurious way in which they have always lived in their father's house; thirdly, that mental exertion will be as unnecessary for them as physical exertion. They are therefore deprived of all the ordinary motives for industry and the assiduous cultivation of their powers, bodily and mental. Further, it is almost impossible to bring them

up to a simple habit of life which takes account of the feelings and interests of others. Unless disciplined by ill-health or other personal misfortunes, they almost inevitably become self-indulgent and unambitious. This condition of a rich man's children is worse in the democratic society of the United States than in the older aristocratic societies of Europe, because here no duties or responsibilities are inherited with their riches by the rich man's children. The children of the rich have with us no duties to the state, and no recognized duties to their family, or even to the creator of their wealth. They are not even bound to maintain their father's establishment. They are placed under no obligation to live where their father did, to carry on his business, to maintain his benefactions, or to build on any foundations which he laid. When property consists of stocks and bonds, almost all the safeguards with which feudal society surrounded the transmission of titles and great estates from father to son fail to take effect.

The very rich man who succeeds, as some do succeed, in bringing up his children to useful and honorable careers of their own, has had, then, enormous difficulties to overcome. He can only overcome them through the influence of his own personal character, quite apart from the qualities which made him very rich. He must possess for himself, and inspire in his children, nobler ambitions than that of being very rich. He must have a high purpose in the use of riches, which his children can see and learn to imitate; and the convincing proof that he himself was possessed by a

noble purpose will be the fact that his children escape the great dangers of being brought up rich, and develop a correspondingly high purpose in their own lives. There are, of course, many cases among the children of the rich where the parents' nature is not transmitted to the children, very unlike tendencies appearing in the children from any that the parents exhibited, as when scholarly children with artistic, literary, or scientific tastes appear in the families of uneducated parents whose practical sagacity and industry have made them rich. The impossibility of bringing up children satisfactorily in luxurious homes has led to the establishment of boarding schools of various sorts for the children of the rich; and these schools have steadily increased in number and variety during the past thirty years. They are more necessary for boys than for girls, because the nature of boys is more perverted by luxury than the nature of girls, perhaps because enterprise and ambition seem more indispensable in a man than in a woman. It seems to be easier to make a boy selfish and indifferent to the feelings and rights of others than to spoil a girl in that way.

The effects which very rich people have on their fellowmen are various, being much affected by the personal qualities of the possessors of great wealth and by the popular beliefs as to the sources of their wealth. The multitude recognize that they themselves are strongly influenced by the very same hopes and desires which have been gratified in the case of possessors of great wealth. In a democracy nearly every man and woman wishes and hopes to earn more and more money, and to lay up more and

more money, and so to become more and more independent of the anxiety which inevitably accompanies dependence on daily toil to meet daily wants. Moreover, nearly every man and woman admires and respects those abilities which make men rich,—acquisitiveness, frugality, industry, and business sagacity,—so that they are prepared to admire and respect those who possess in a high degree these qualities. On the other hand, the multitude is disposed to despise and condemn the self-indulgence and the luxury which degrade and corrupt the possessors of great riches, together with their children and their dependents. The multitude feels a mild reprobation of extravagance, but a hearty contempt for penuriousness and lack of generosity in the very rich. It always experiences, and often expresses, a displeased surprise when a man who has lived without generosity and without splendor is discovered at his death to have been very rich. This is a kind of adverse posthumous judgment which never overtook the very rich in the earlier days when all property was visible, as in land, buildings, flocks, herds, and chattels. Not even generous testamentary dispositions will reconcile the American public to a penurious life on the part of a rich man.

PUBLIC JUDGMENTS OF THE RICH

The judgments of the public concerning the means by which great riches have been acquired are fickle and uncertain, because for the most part, made in the dark. In this respect the public has little confidence in its own impressions, unless legal

proceedings have brought to light the course of conduct and events which profited the possessors of great wealth, or the habitual mode of conducting the business which yielded great wealth. In spite of the fact that monopolies have for centuries been hateful to the main body of the consumers in every nation, the judgment of the public is ordinarily a lenient one toward the creators of successful monopolies; because every one recognizes in himself a longing to secure some sort of monopoly—to become the possessor, for example, of some little art or little skill which nobody else possesses, to raise a vegetable or a flower which nobody else can raise, to write a book or paint a picture which nobody else can produce, to practise a trade or a profession without any effective competitors, or to invent or manufacture a patented article which nobody else can make. The manufacture of a patented article affords a perfect example of monopoly; but the American people, at least, are thoroughly accustomed to such perfect monopolies, and, on the whole, believe them to be suitable rewards for beneficial inventions. In spite, therefore, of the evils caused to the great body of consumers by monopolies, the American public is gentle in its judgment of the conduct of very rich men who have discerned and profited enormously by advantages in business which nobody else could or did procure. Almost every business man feels that if he had had the skill, or the luck, to seize upon some such advantage, he would not have hesitated to do so. A community which is thoroughly possessed in all its strata with a desire and a purpose to better itself is

not likely to be harsh in its judgment of men who have conspicuously succeeded in so doing. To be sure, if a very rich man in pursuing the gratification of his own desires interferes with what his neighbors regard as their own traditional rights and customs, as, for instance, by enclosing large areas over which his neighbors have freely fished or hunted, or by occupying shores which have been open to the resort of a whole neighborhood, he is apt to encounter popular condemnation. If he pursues his pleasures with conspicuous disregard of the comfort or safety of other people he is likely to get into trouble, unless, as is often the case, he can manage in his pursuit of his own pleasures to appear to be only enjoying, or perhaps defending, valuable rights acquired by the whole public.

THE WORLD'S ATTITUDE TOWARD RICH MEN

In the long run the possessor of great wealth is judged in part by the use he makes of his riches, including in that use his disposal of them at his death, in part by the nature of the business which made him rich, and in part by the moral quality he manifests in the conduct of his business. If it appears that the rich man recognized his responsibility to society for a right use of his wealth, the public will forgive much expenditure for his own pleasures and for the pleasures of his family, and for the security of his children against the possibility of future want. They will condone great extravagance and waste, if, on the whole, a high and liberal purpose guided the man in his accumulations and in his benefactions. The peculiar faculties and powers

which lead to the accumulation of riches resemble all other human faculties and powers in the following respect,—they may all be degraded and made sordid by a low purpose or elevated and exalted by a noble one. This is just as true of the powers of memory, invention, and penetrative reasoning as it is of that practical sagacity which leads to the possession of wealth. Even love, that all-hallowing motive when it is pure, unselfish, and spiritual, becomes a fearful implement of moral destruction if it be low and animal. The very rich man is, then, not to be pronounced admirable and happy, or contemptible and miserable, until his account is made up and the dominant purpose of his life is made plain.

Again, the rich man is judged in part by the quality of the product which made him rich. A beneficial product tends to sanctify riches; a harmful product poisons them. The public judgment is gentler toward men who got rich by producing or selling good petroleum, steel, or copper than it is toward men who produce or sell whiskey, patent medicines, lottery tickets, or advertising space for immoral undertakings. Riches acquired in making mankind more comfortable or healthier are much more likely to give satisfaction to their possessor, and through him to benefit society, than riches acquired through products which are injurious to mankind and so increase the sum of human misery.

PUBLICITY A SAFEGUARD FOR WEALTH

In regard to judging the morality of the processes by which great wealth has been acquired the

public must always meet with serious difficulties and delays; proof of misconduct is hard to get, and even the courts sometimes give an uncertain sound, for business methods which are not illegal may nevertheless be decidedly immoral; for instance, they may be cruel, greedy, or treacherous, but within the law. Bought suppressions of truth, which in the public interest should be told, are usually immoral but not illegal. The only sure protection of the rich man against suspicious and adverse judgments in this respect is publicity for his methods and results. Many businesses are now under sufficient government supervision to secure some measure of publicity; those conducted in secrecy and with no periodic publication of results are liable to intense suspicion on the part of the public whenever they yield immense fortunes for individuals at short notice. In such cases the public always suspects some sort of foul play or some unearned increment not fairly attributable to unusual foresight. The suddenly rich man finds that the presumptions are all against him in the public mind, and that the public ear is open to the prosecuting attorney but shut to the defence. This distrust is the inevitable penalty for secrecy in money getting on a large scale. Many years may elapse before it is possible to get the final verdict, and oblivion may easily arrive before justice.

The very rich people, then, like most other things and forces in this world, are a mixed product, and may work either good or evil for their neighborhood and their nation. Some of them do great harm by giving conspicuous examples of self-indulgent,

pleasure-seeking, trivial lives; others do great good by illustrating the noble and beneficent use of wealth. Some of them, in seeking their selfish ends, corrupt legislatures and courts, trample on the weak, betray trusts, cheat the law, deceive or bribe the agents of the law, raise the prices of necessaries of life, and by their example lower the moral standards of the business community; others use all their influence to improve legislation, the administration of justice, the management of corporations—including that of towns and cities—the execution of trusts, and the education of the people, and to diffuse and cheapen the good gifts of nature. The estimate which the rest of us form of the relatively few very rich men is guided by our opinions concerning their personal characters. We despise and abhor the coarse, ostentatious, selfish, unjust multi-millionaire, while we admire and respect the refined, generous, and just rich man, be his millions few or many, be his benefactions direct through gifts to hospitals, churches, and colleges, or indirect through the improvement of the industries which maintain and extend civilization or the beautification of the common life.

NO ABIDING CLASS OF RICH MEN

It is quite unnecessary in this country to feel alarmed about the rise of a permanent class of very rich people. To transmit great estates is hard. They get divided or dispersed. The heirs are often unable to keep their inherited treasures, or, if by

the help of lawyers and other hired agents they manage to keep them, they cease to accumulate, and only spend. This is one of the natural effects on his children of the very rich man's mode of life. With rarest exceptions the very rich men of to-day are not the sons of the very rich men of thirty years ago, but are new men. It will be the same thirty years hence. The wise rich father will try to put his sons into those beneficent professions and occupations which have strong intellectual and moral interest, and in which pecuniary independence is a distinct advantage. Such are the public service in elective or appointive offices, the ministry, scientific research, social service, and the management of charities and of serviceable endowed institutions. Inherited wealth enables young men to devote themselves early to these fine employments, which are not pecuniarily remunerative but yet possess the highest sort of interest and offer all the rewards of beneficent influence among men. From persons so occupied, from the ranks of the learned and scientific professions, and from the more intellectual and useful sorts of business, the highest class of each generation in a democracy is in large measure recruited. The new-made very rich may or may not belong to this class. The chances are against them, unless they prove themselves men of distinction both mentally and morally.

One of the best tests of the worth of free institutions is their capacity to produce a numerous class of superior persons—rich, well-off, comfortable, or just self-supporting—a class larger in proportion

to the mass of the people, and more meritorious than any other form of government has produced. All signs indicate that the American democracy will meet this test.

1911

DEMOCRACY AND MANNERS

Apropos of an Inquiry into the Teaching of Manners in the Public Schools

THE effects of democracy on manners interest both the friends and the foes of democracy. On one side it is alleged that the tendency of a democracy, which makes much of universal education, is to improve the average manners without injuring the manners of the most refined class. On the other side it is alleged that, although the manners of the lower classes may be a little improved by popular education and by the contacts of all classes in public conveyances and places of public entertainment, those of the higher classes are necessarily coarsened and roughened by association on terms of equality with persons of inferior breeding. The general interest in the subject has been heightened in the United States by the great changes in the conditions of American life within the last fifty years in consequence of the congestion of population in cities and the advent of millions of immigrants of non-Teutonic stocks, with political, religious, and industrial histories very different from those of the earlier settlers on the Atlantic border. The question whether home, school, and church, and particularly the democratic school, can

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teach good manners is all-important under the new conditions of American society; and this question THE CENTURY MAGAZINE has been trying to study and deal with.

The feudal system had several sorts of manners, each appropriate to one of the fixed classes into which society was divided. Armies and navies, which are by no means democratic institutions, have always been schools of certain sorts of manners, and they still are. But manners in democratic society ought to be, and are, much more homogeneous than in feudal or military society; and if the fundamental principles of democracy are sound, the combined influences of home, school, church, and government ought gradually to produce in a democracy a high average of civility based on freedom and equality before the law, and in the well-educated classes the common possession of excellent manners. Before taking up the specific question of the contribution to the cultivation of good manners which democratic schools can make, it will be well to consider what the foundations of good manners are, and what part manners play in the social education of mankind and in the individual's pursuit of happiness and success.

THE IMPORTANCE OF GOOD MANNERS

MANNERS affect for good or ill the daily happiness of every human being and the fortune and destiny of every tribe or nation. Their influence on human existence is profound and incessant. Good manners are founded on reason or common-sense, and good

will. They put people at ease in social intercourse, welcome graciously the stranger and the friend, dismiss pleasantly the lingering visitor who does not know how to withdraw, express alert sympathy with others, and prompt to helpful coöperation with others. They enable people to dwell together in peace and concord; whereas bad manners cause friction, strife, and discord. Inasmuch as good manners smooth the rough places and make things pleasant in human intercourse, some candid and combative persons who see many proper occasions for righteous indignation, hot strife, and unyielding pertinacity, are inclined to think that good manners may easily slip into insincerity, dissimulation, and a habit of easy compromising. They imagine that well-mannered people express in their habitual greetings warmer affections than they really feel, conceal their aversions or condemnations, moderate their heats in argument, make little use of superlatives, and in general repress passion in both speech and action. Hence they suspect that good manners are a drag on moral earnestness, or at least inconsistent with a prophet's or a reformer's zeal. Such an apprehension may naturally be felt about manners which are merely a superficial polish, with no groundwork in genuine good will and sympathy, or an habitual conformity to conventional rules of behavior; but, nevertheless, long experience among civilized men has proved that good manners are compatible with holding strong convictions and expressing them firmly on fit occasion. They cannot and should not prevent earnest contentions, but they can take the bitterness out of strife, and

prevent personal animosities between sincere and strenuous opponents.

GOOD MANNERS A FINE ART

It is obvious that good manners involve not only habitual good will and kindness, but also no little personal skill. They are, indeed, a fine art; for their means of expression are generally mere tones, inflections, quick glances, momentary gestures or postures, or other slight gradations of sound or movement; and they need at their best a quick imagination and a ready wit.

In agreeable intercourse neither party will be on the one hand rough and forth-putting, or on the other bashful and constrained. A rough indifference is not much more disagreeable in social intercourse than an embarrassed sheepishness. A bashful person is always annoying in company, and a superior who is not serene and confident in the presence of subordinates is as uncomfortable for them as he is for himself. Any exhibition of want of respect or of consideration for others is destructive of pleasant intercourse, and this lack of respect need not go so far as contempt or insolence in order to cause uneasiness and aversion. Habitual expression of a tendency to find fault, blame, or censure is of course fatal to agreeable converse, and a habit of criticizing or contradicting on the spot the statements of others is unpleasant even in a comrade or friend, and more so in casual acquaintances. Engrossing the conversation is another ill-mannered practice to which even the possession of

a remarkable wit in the speaker will fail to reconcile the aggrieved listeners. An opposite source of offence is a continuous silence, which implies lack of interest in the conversation or inattention to it. An eager talker with a story to tell in which he is much interested may often find very exasperating the mere silence of his imperturbable, though amiable listener. No ceremoniousness is agreeable except as it is obviously intended to show respect or deference, and there is nothing more disagreeable in the intercourse of civil people than the deference which descends to flattery and obsequiousness.

GOOD MANNERS AS A PERSONAL INFLUENCE

EMERSON in his admirable essay on "Manners" points out that underneath the best manners must lie some spiritual power or ascendancy, perceived by every observer, although held in reserve. The gentleman or the lady ought to possess a personal influence distinct, though often unconscious, as well as beauty of form or feature and grace in action, and to that end should be manifestly a truthful, straightforward, and self-reliant person. It is impossible for a lying, insincere, fawning man to have the best manners, although he may be polite in the ordinary sense. Every exclusive set of people, like a royal court, or a group of county families, or the fashionable set in a great city, or the leading group in a lodge or grange, is based on the possession of some kind of power, political, magisterial, financial, or industrial. The advantages won by the valor or virtue or capacity which distinguished one genera-

tion will carry over to another generation which may not possess the natural or acquired powers of the preceding, imparting to these descendants some distinction, cultivation, or excellence which they could not have secured for themselves.

The often-mentioned difference between good manners and good breeding, namely, that the latter involves a long education and the acquisition of much knowledge and skill, whereas the former do not, is quite as important in democratic society as in aristocratic. Peasants, barbarians, and illiterate persons often exhibit some of the best elements of good manners, but their experience of life has not given them access to good breeding.

Selfishness, ignorance, stupidity, and habitual inattention to the desires and claims of others are the chief causes of bad manners; and since these qualities are rather common among mankind and some admixture of them often exists in meritorious characters, bad manners are not uncommon.

Like good manners, bad manners have a universal quality, since they are due to the absence of sound moral qualities, or of fine perceptions, or of the indispensable conditions of a refined and beautiful life. Savage or barbarous peoples often exhibit in their finest specimens personal dignity, composure, and a grave decorum; but they also exhibit in general a lack of cleanliness, slovenly or hasty ways of eating and drinking, and lack of consideration for the weak, and they often manifest their individual emotions with the *abandon* of children.

Although good manners are based in all societies

and all nations on character and the possession of good sense and good feeling, it cannot be alleged that there is any universal ritual of good manners. To be sure, there are many obvious "don'ts" or prohibitions and a few positive, universal affirmations. Thus deference is expressed in different postures or gestures in different nations, and even in different groups within the same nation. Persons of good sense can exercise great freedom in adapting their manners to their surroundings and their companions of the moment, provided they exhibit composure, gentleness, and disinterestedness. Nevertheless, there is, on the whole, a remarkable agreement about certain points of good manners among peoples that exhibit strong differences in other respects. Thus, the soldier's attitude of respect is common to many peoples. He stands erect, with his heels together, and touches his cap or fez with his right hand. In religious ceremonies many of the same postures are used by Christian and Moslem peoples. During religious service the people sit, stand, bow, and kneel in succession. The Moslem and the Buddhist, however, add one posture of worship which comparatively few Christians use, namely, prostration with the forehead on the ground. Gentle speech is the same thing in all languages, since it is a matter of tone and inflection. Everywhere the gentleman or lady listens attentively to the narrator, petitioner, or dealer who is speaking, since this attention is an inevitable manifestation under the circumstances of interest and good will. Emerson's remark that "a gentleman makes no noise; a lady is serene" is of universal application.

THE CONTAGION OF GOOD AND BAD MANNERS

In respect to manners, most men and women, and particularly young people, are highly imitative; so that both good manners and bad are contagious. Hence the strong influence of family groups and school groups on the manners of their members, and hence also the deplorable influence of the objectionable social groups in large variety which American urban society has developed, such as the street "gang" of boys; the group of the season's "buds," with their boy comrades, in keen pursuit, without any measure, of their own pleasures and excitements; the "smart set" of fashionable society, with its selfishness and luxury; the base-ball nine, with its vulgar chatter; and the foot-ball eleven, with its secret practice, surprises, and imitation in sport of the barbarous ethics inevitable in combat to the death. The more public the operations of these groups are, the more wide-spread their effects as schools of bad manners. The street-railway companies in American cities maintain active schools of bad manners wherever they fail to provide a number of vehicles adequate to carry in a decent manner the throngs that are compelled to use them. Any crowd which is in a hurry is apt to afford practice in bad manners.

WOMAN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR MANNERS

In Christian society where the women are tolerably free, it is they who are largely responsible for the condition of manners. In the absence of the severe physical restraints imposed on women in

Moslem society and in much heathen society, tenderness and protection are due from men to women, and for a considerable proportion of their lives a measure of privacy or "touch-me-not" reserve is their right. Every gentleman recognizes these natural rights of women, and every man who is not absolutely brutal recognizes the woman's claim on him because of her relative weakness and delicacy of body. On these chivalrous sentiments toward women the manners of civilized men are in large part formed; so that men are liable to lose all standards in manners whenever any considerable proportion of the women who come within their field of observation show themselves unworthy of these sentiments in men by becoming themselves coarse, combative, rude, and lacking in modesty, or by ceasing to condemn in their male companions insolence, violence, selfishness, and the ungenerous use of strength or power.

The sentiments on which good manners depend being by no means universal, and the real art difficult of attainment, cultivated people have agreed on certain elementary rules of behavior which anybody who wishes to can learn and put in practice; so that multitudes not specially distinguished for good sense or good will may, by taking a little pains, avoid social friction and troublesome breaches of good manners. Many people who do not possess in any large measure the spiritual qualities on which good manners are based do, as a fact, observe these minor rules of behavior, to the great advantage of society. This fact encourages the belief that useful instruction on many details of

manners can be given to children in the home and the school, which happily are also just the places where the sentiments and affections of which good manners are the expression can best be fostered.

PERSONALITY IN MANNERS

LITERATURE abounds in statements that manners are to be learned by example rather than by the study of rules, from good company rather than from books. This unquestionable fact makes clear in what consists the high privilege of gentle birth. Such birth secures to children constant examples of gentle manners in both men and women. Republicans are glad to remember that this very precious privilege of gentle birth is not confined to monarchies or aristocracies, or to social systems built on caste or hereditary privileges. It is obviously commoner under republican institutions, which secure widely diffused education in childhood and encourage continuous education throughout life by means of social and industrial freedom, than under any other governmental institutions. Indeed, one of the best ultimate tests of the success of republican institutions will be the relative diffusion of good manners and bad among the people. Locke, in his "Thoughts on Education," gives very sensible directions "how to form a young gentleman as he should be. . . . It is fit his governor should be himself well bred, understanding the ways of carriage and measure of civility in all the variety of persons, times, and places, and keep his pupil, as much as his age requires, constantly to the observation of them. This is an art not to be learnt or

taught by books. Nothing can give it but good company and observation joined together." These excellent directions for the bringing-up of a young gentleman by a well-bred governor suggest one explanation of the great difficulty which day schools have, even in the best urban school systems, in improving the manners of children who come from rude or coarse environments, and spend in school only a quarter of their time even during school-terms, and no time at all during rather more than one quarter of the year. They point also to the importance of securing, for all schools, teachers whose speech and manners are gentle, kindly and refined.

WHAT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE DOING

In order to ascertain how much attention is now directed to instruction in manners in American public schools, The Century Magazine sent to 1,400 superintendents of public instruction two questions, to which 740 answers were received, with the following results: in 519 school systems there is incidental and discretionary instruction in manners; in 155, there is regular, systematic, and somewhat extensive instruction, for which definite periods are assigned in the school programs during several years; in 50, the teachers are required to give some instruction in manners, but the instruction is only partly systematic, no provision for it being made in the programs; in 16, there is virtually no instruction. The success of the incidental and discretionary instruction depends of course on the capacity of the individual teacher to draw lessons in manners from the happenings in the school-room, the read-

ing assigned to the children, and the current events of the day. The regular, systematic instruction is carried on by means of primers or elementary manuals of ethics and manners, supplemented by the explanations and comments of the teacher. In some cities the superintendent had prepared for the use of the teachers a syllabus on manners and the ethics of manners, with numerous references to passages in recommended text-books, these books being provided for the teachers, but not for the pupils. In some schools instruction has been given by means of lantern-illustrations, with running comments from the teacher. One superintendent reported through the principal of a large school in which more than half of the children came from bare homes, with only elementary notions of manners, and were destined to leave school by fourteen years of age or even earlier, a dramatic or representative method of teaching good manners which was used in addition to a ten-minute daily discussion in each room of the rules of politeness toward elders, teachers, visitors, and strangers, and of behavior at table and in the street, street-car, shop, and school. Periodically all the children from the different rooms were called together in the assembly-hall, on the stage of which representations of correct behavior were given. This method takes advantage of most children's pleasure in "making believe" and acting. Selected children illustrate on the stage the proper way to speak to a lady or an old gentleman, and how to perform and acknowledge an introduction. Little table scenes are enacted, and a boy helps a lady from a carriage or a

car. This is all done in an earnest, serious way; but the children are interested in the performance, and both actors and spectators enjoy it. Much instruction in manners can be given in schools by acting plays and charades which illustrate both good manners and bad. Although children often fail to discern or be interested in the real plot or subtle motives in dramas, they usually apprehend perfectly the manners depicted on the stage. The members of the school and their parents will always provide an interested audience for such plays, and by having several different casts for each play, the number of children who get the benefit of acting may be made considerable, and the number of interested relatives will be so great as to require several representations of each play. There are plenty of plays adapted to this school use; but the selection of those to be presented requires care on the part of the teacher and an understanding of both the capacities and incapacities of the children.[1]

MANNERS AND MORALS

School instruction in manners necessarily mixes manners with morals and ethics, and this combination of teaching rules and the moral reasons for rules at the same time is in practice the inevitable way. To teach mere cleanliness and neatness of the body, clothes, and implements for individual use, it

[1] It is an incidental advantage of teaching school-children to act, recite, read aloud, and declaim, that such exercises give the teachers opportunity to insist on agreeable tones of voice and distinct enunciation, points in good manners hard to inculcate in any walk of life, and not infrequently lacking in well-to-do families.

is necessary to go beyond the motive of personal hygiene to the altruistic motive of caring for the health and comfort of others. We cannot teach or illustrate gentleness or serenity in manners and speech without inculcating the duty of kindness. We cannot teach children to show deference to elders, parents, and teachers without explaining the debt of each succeeding generation to the preceding. One can hardly teach children who come from coarse environments to avoid profanity, obscenity, gossip, and slander, without expounding the moral principles on which social purity and justice are based. The teaching of good manners in school, whether from manuals or by example and oral exhortation, whether systematically in assigned periods or incidentally at the discretion of the teacher, involves giving ethical instruction on the authority of the teacher.

It should be no surprise, therefore, to find that in many public-school programs the heading "manners and morals" appears, and in the time assigned to this instruction the affirmative duties of kindness, truthfulness, fidelity to duty, honesty, and self-control are actively inculcated, and civic duties and patriotism are subjects of discussion and exhortation. Such a course of instruction is intended to lead the child gradually from its natural egoism to a reasonable altruism, and the measure of its success is the degree in which this object is attained in regard first to manners, and then to morals. Of course all well-conducted schools inculcate punctuality, order, quietness, and mutual accommodation, and these are all elements of good manners; but they can do much more than this. They can teach

thoughtfulness for others, and the sense of obligation to make others comfortable or happy. They can train in many of their pupils some individual faculty or skill which will enable them to give pleasure to other people, such as a faculty or skill in reading aloud, reciting, singing, playing on some musical instrument, acting, story-telling, or playing sociable games. They can teach all their pupils that the surest way to enjoy oneself is to contribute to the enjoyments of other people. They can teach cooperation in sports or recreations, a kind of cooperation which later leads easily to coöperation in more serious matters. They can utilize emulation and competition as incitements not only to individual improvement, but to social progress.

There can be no doubt that the great majority of American public schools are actively contributing to-day to the diffusion and development of good manners among the people, and hence to the improvement of social conduct. Whoever learns to observe and respect, through manners firmly based on ethics, the lesser rights of others is likely to acquire increased respect for the larger rights of the neighbor and the citizen.

Since the safe conduct of democratic society on its bold voyage of philanthropic discovery depends on an unprecedented development of mutual good will, manifested kindliness, and hearty coöperation, the function of the common schools in teaching manners and morals is plainly one of the most important parts of public education, and the main reliance of democratic optimism.

1911.

PUBLIC OPINION AND SEX HYGIENE

DURING my somewhat long, active life I have never seen such a change of public opinion among thoughtful people as has taken place among them within the last ten years on the subject of sex hygiene, using that term in its broadest sense.

The policy of silence on all the functions and relations of sex, whether normal or morbid, was almost universally accepted for centuries by physicians and clergymen, and in family life. In the Protestant denominations of the Christian church the normal processes of procreation and birth were associated with the supposed fall of man and his total depravity. In the Catholic church the offices of a priest were necessary for the mother and newborn infant by way of purification; and the perversions of the sexual passion were to be dealt with only by the priest in the confessional. The miserable victims of the venereal diseases were excluded from all hospitals and dispensaries, or were treated by compassionate physicians only by stealth. Venereal diseases were regarded exclusively as diseases of sin and shame, until their frequent communication to wholly innocent persons had been demonstrated within recent years.

Certain rather recent medical discoveries have contributed to the extraordinary change in public

opinion. When blindness in the new-born was traced to gonorrhea in the mother, a potent cause of the crowding of blind asylums was thus brought to light. Insanity and general paresis were in many cases traced back to syphilis, and an explanation was thus given of the increase of insanity in civilized communities. It became known to the medical profession and later to many unprofessional persons, that the consequences of gonorrhea were almost as bad as those of syphilis, in regard to the infection of innocent persons and the destruction of family happiness. Quite recently a treatment for syphilis has been discovered which has proved satisfactory in many thousands of cases, although the permanence of the cure cannot yet be confidently affirmed. It has been proved that by persistent treatment gonorrhea can apparently be permanently cured in a large proportion of cases. In obscure disorders the Wassermann test for syphilis gives the physician, who is trying to make the diagnosis, on the one hand a strong indication of the presence of a serious complication, or on the other of its absence. As a guide to treatment either determination is invaluable. The same test can supply evidence that a cure has been effected. It will also probably furnish in time trustworthy statistics concerning the prevalence of syphilis in the community at large, statistics greatly needed, because the previous guesses and estimates on that subject and the results of some recent applications of the test to considerable numbers of public hospital patients are disquieting. To refuse to treat venereal diseases in hospitals and dispensaries, now that we know they can be effec-

tively treated, does not seem tolerable or possible in any humane and instructed community. The treatment of other contagious diseases is adequately provided for. Shall these most destructive of all contagious diseases be exempted from registration, isolation during activity, and treatment at either public or private expense adequate to the protection of the community? If the community is to be protected, however, the policy of silence and the concealment of venereal cases must be abandoned by the medical profession and by boards of health. The duty of the medical profession to the family as the best of human institutions and to the public health as the foundation of the common efficiency and happiness, must qualify the duty of the physician as the recipient of his patient's confidence.

The recent medical discoveries to which I have referred raise important ethical questions. Will the fact that syphilis can apparently be cured in many instances increase sexual immorality? Will the fact that a few dissolute men and women escape venereal diseases, and the further fact that there are antiseptic precautions which diminish somewhat the dangers of licentiousness, make young men readier to encounter the dangers of sin? These are questions which only experience can fully answer.

The Navy department reports publicly that the crews of the sixteen battleships that went around the world returned with a better record in respect to venereal diseases than those of any earlier American expedition. It is clearly better for the community as a whole that the diseases consequent on vice should be reduced to the lowest possible

terms both by cure and by prevention. The sum of human misery from licentiousness, when followed without restriction or repair, by the diseases consequent upon vice, is greater than it would be if the consequent diseases were effectively contended against with all the means now available for mitigation and cure; and the hope that the race can maintain itself against the evils of artificial living, unhealthy herding, and commercialized vice will be strengthened by active and incessant war on venereal disease.

Public opinion has been moved strongly toward the subject of sex hygiene because of the many signs of physical deterioration among the civilized nations which suffer from the eager rush out of the country into the city, from the factory system, and from alcoholism and the sexual vices. Many thoughtful persons are anxious about the diminishing size of young men at the age of admission to the national armies, the rapid reduction within fifty years of the size of the average family, the common inability of women to nurse their babies, the terrible infant mortality in cities, the alleged increasing number of physically or mentally defective children, and the increasing proportion in civilized communities of persons, young, mature, or old who are practically unable to earn their livelihood. The humanitarian policies in regard to the treatment of the defective, the incompetent, and the criminal classes seem to tend to increase the burdens carried by the normal and industrious portion of the population; and these burdens react on the vigor and happiness of the normal people. The increase of

liberty for all classes of the community seems to promote the rapid breeding of the defective, irresponsible and vicious. The new interest in sex hygiene is not due, however, only to speculations on the durability of modern civilization or on that of the white race. Political philosophers and biologists naturally take a strong interest in those large problems; but the individual young man or woman has a narrower sentiment on this subject, though one quite as intense. The young people have lately heard for the first time what the risks of marriage are; what the physical enemies of happy family life are; how the different standard of chastity for men and women has worked during the slow development of the society now called civilized. With these young people the problem becomes an intensely personal one. "How can I best regulate my own conduct in order to win the normal satisfactions of family life? How can I be protected from the ignorance or sinfulness of associates? In short, how can I steer a safe course through the swirls and tumults of the sexual passion, which seems to be a principal source not only of the normal satisfactions and delights of human life, but also of its worst anxieties and afflictions?" Intelligent fathers and mothers feel a new sort of duty toward their children—the duty of protecting them from vicious allurements and giving them in due time knowledge of good and evil in sex relations. Teachers in public schools see before them a deplorable proportion of children who have bad inheritances, both physical and mental, and who live in bad environments; and sharing the new freedom in the

discussion of social problems, they are eager to be told how they can contribute to the arrest and prevention of these miserable tendencies. Churches are taking a new interest in the questions which arise out of unhappy marriage and easy divorce. Many persons who get a smattering on eugenics are eager for legislation to make marriage conditional on bodily and mental health, and to keep in confinement the feeble-minded, the alcoholic, and the insane not only till they are of age, but till they are incapable of breeding their like. Some knowledge of social hygiene and eugenics has led many persons to advocate hastily prepared legislation as a panacea for evils which terribly afflict modern communities, and yet are very ancient. Such is the genesis and such the immediate outcome of the new and widespread interest in sex hygiene.

The most important question before this American Federation for Sex Hygiene is the question —What forces can now be put into play against the formidable evils which gravely threaten family life, human happiness, civilization in general, and the very life of the race? Something must be done. Christianity, democracy, and humanitarianism have all failed, thus far, to cope with these evils which are sapping the vitality of civilized society. What can be done? It is clear that no one force or agency is to be exclusively relied on. All the uplifting forces of society must be simultaneously enlisted in this cause,—state, church, school, college, industrial and charitable corporations, all productive industries, and both preventive and remedial medicine. The attack must be directed against the

three principal causes of the present evil conditions —first, against lust in men; secondly, against the weakness, dependence, mental deficiency, and lack of moral principle of the women who supply the demands of men; thirdly, against the greed and depravity of the wretches who maintain a profitable commerce out of this licentious demand and supply.

The struggle against lust in men must bring into play a variety of defensive agencies, such as full occupation for body and mind, manly sports, ambition and energy in the earning of the livelihood, timely knowledge of the good and the evil in sex relations, temperance in both food and drink, and deliverance from mischievous transmitted beliefs, such as belief in the harmlessness of gonorrhea or in the necessity of sexual indulgence for the maintenance of health and vigor in men. For the giving of the information which all young men need a variety of agencies must be utilized. The best source of the information which the young man needs is the parent—the mother in childhood, the father later; but inasmuch as many parents are too ignorant to give this information, it is indispensable that schools, churches, Christian Associations, and the various kinds of clubs maintained for good social purposes should all be utilized. The public press, too,—or that part of it which has moral purposes and a sense of responsibility—must lend its aid, and the policy of silence must be abandoned in favor of a policy of high-minded and reserved exposition. It must be made impossible for either young men or young women to plead ignorance as their excuse when they fall into moral and physi-

cal degradation. The general policy in thus employing all available defensive agencies will be the exclusion of evil thoughts and acts by the incessant suggestion and practice of pure and useful thinking and acting. Does any one say that these are slow-acting forces which will be long in bringing about hygienic sex relations? True; but must it not be a long labor to modify towards purity and chivalrous gentleness the strongest of the animal instincts of man? It is not likely that any short and easy road can be found to the redemption of society from centuries-old licentiousness in males. All the more reason for entering at once on the best roads to be found that lead in the desired direction. It is obvious that most of the forces to be employed are educational, to be applied as widely as possible not only in childhood but throughout life.

The second attack must be directed against the lack of moral and mental stamina in girls and young women whose inheritances have been low, and whose environment has been dull and miserable. Prostitution is voluntarily resorted to by some responsible women whose propensities are naturally bad; but the great majority of prostitutes are physical, mental, or moral defectives in the strictest sense of that word. It is the interest of all such defectives and of society at large that they be first discovered in their families, or at school, or in the churches or social settlements, or in hospitals and infirmaries, and then segregated and confined under wholesome conditions, where they can not be seduced to a vile life or be abandoned even for an hour to their own

imperfect self-control. Here is a great service that the public schools can render to society and here lies a strong argument in favor of the extension of attendance at school beyond the age of thirteen or fourteen, which is now the limit of school life for a great majority of American children. Family, school, church, and all good social organizations should steadily contend against indolence, love of excitement, self-indulgence, and luxurious tendencies in girls, should prevent the depression or joylessness of extreme poverty, and should provide and cultivate systematically both helpful work and healthful play for all sorts of girls and young women. Orphaned and unprotected girls should be always the special care of benevolent organizations or friendly societies. Courts and police authorities should reinforce and assist parents and school authorities to control, before it is too late, girls that manifest vicious propensities. The best control for such girls, is, of course, that of a loving home; but in the absence of that best control the community itself should exercise the next best in its own defense. Again, we see that the forces which must be brought into play in attacking the second cause, or source, of licentiousness are mostly educational, and therefore slow-working.

The third assault which society should conduct against licentiousness may be undertaken with prompt decision and with expectation of effecting rapid improvement. This is the assault on commercialized vice. There need be no hesitation in attacking with all the powers of the law the men and women who pander to men by seducing or com-

pelling young women to the horrible existence of the prostitute, owned or leased by a dealer in the gratification of lust, and provide shelter and facilities for the worst of human vices. In that shameful business much intelligence and shrewdness and much capital are employed, and much money is made. Some of the money made is freely used to secure immunity, or periods of immunity, from prosecution in the courts. This iniquitous commerce should be put an end to by vigorous action under existing laws. No third party should be allowed to make any profit out of licentiousness. No brokers or commission merchants in vice should be allowed to exist in a civilized community, and no real estate owner should be allowed to use it himself, or lease it to others, for immoral purposes. But one may say, "The segregation and regulation of brothels are policies which have come down through unnumbered centuries in many nations and under all the great religions of the world. Are we to attempt the uprooting of such ancient policies of toleration and license?" I answer, "Yes, we are;" because those ancient policies have everywhere failed to protect the human race from evils which in the long run will work its destruction. Former generations were not sure of that failure. This generation knows it. Former generations had no adequate means of contending against the diseases which in the human race accompany the perversions and excesses of the sex instincts. We possess these means. Earlier generations had not appropriated the idea of government "of the people, for the people, and by the people." For us the interests of the mass

override the interests of the individual, particularly when the alleged interests of the individual are corrupting and degrading.

The policy of segregation in defined quarters has not been carried out successfully in any place in the world, not even in Japan, where the policy is traditional and has come down through many centuries and where the conditions of prostitution are in some respects less horrible than in any Christian country. In all the cities which have long practised the policy of segregation scattered vice exists in great amount outside the recognized quarters. The regulation of prostitutes through medical inspection and certification is a recognized failure in every country where it has been long carried on. The inspection is perfunctory and quite incapable of supplying evidence that no disease exists in the persons inspected. The certificate issued by the inspector is founded on no good evidence when it is issued, and may be made absolutely false within a few minutes of its issue. In other words, segregation is never even approximately complete, and it would not diminish licentiousness if it were complete. On the contrary, it supplies facilities for vice. Regulation has no significant effect to reduce venereal disease, although it accomplishes in some rather small proportion the temporary segregation of active cases; and it increases licentiousness, because young men are deluded into thinking that the worthless certificates mean diminished risk of contracting disease.

It is said, in opposition to the suppression of brothels and in favor of the toleration of vice in

special quarters of a town or city, that it is better to permit vice, public and regulated, in certain parts of a city than to drive vice into secrecy and spread it all through the residential quarters. The reply to this argument is, that there is a large gain to the community as a whole whenever any vice or wrong practice is driven into secrecy and its gratification made difficult or inconvenient instead of easy. It is one of the lessons of the long struggle against alcoholism that great gain comes from making the use of alcoholic liquors private instead of public, even if the total consumption of liquor in the community be not much reduced. It has been demonstrated that the policy of no-license for saloons diminishes drunkenness in the community which adopts it. The same is true of gambling houses and the gambling habit. Public toleration and ease of access to the means of gratifying any vicious habit increase the number of victims. It is also said against the proposal to suppress brothels that criminal assaults on girls and women will increase to a formidable extent in any community which adopts such a policy. Fortunately the social resistance to assaults on women is now strong enough to enforce against all such criminals any penalties likely to be deterrent. Asexualization, or castration of the criminal, in addition to whatever other penalty the nature of the assault may indicate, will be demanded by public opinion, if either shall prove to be effective to prevent the crime. Here and there, and from time to time, police authorities in large cities have proved that it is possible to suppress brothels. It remains for public opinion to demand the execu-

tion of existing laws and of any new laws which experience may show to be needed for the suppression of commercialized vice. One common practice of the police and the courts will need to be changed. These authorities now attack prostitution chiefly by arresting and punishing the women concerned; they should also punish the men concerned, for they are the primary offenders. It should be one of the chief functions of this Federation and of all kindred bodies to educate public opinion on this subject of suppression in place of toleration. Much progress has already been made in this direction, and the advance of medical science and especially of preventive medicine is contributing every year new weapons for this warfare.

The interest of many thinking people in the subject of eugenics is closely allied to interest in sex hygiene; but zeal for wise breeding is apparently leading to some hasty or ill-considered legislation. The existing legislation to limit selection in marriage is evidence of a wise recognition of the dangers in continuing stocks burdened with inheritable weaknesses, and is so far welcome; but not all the proposed prohibitions can be justified by biological science at its present stage. The educated public have much to learn with regard to the proper mating of persons who have some nervous defect. Such persons should mate with those whose ancestry has no such defect. Although it is undesirable that feeble-minded, epileptic, or insane persons should have children, yet if such a person mates wisely, and the children of such union again wisely, the progeny of the third generation will probably

be quite as free from nervous defect as the general population is. Again, the reproduction of the feeble-minded will not necessarily be diminished by laws which prevent them from marrying. Such persons ordinarily have very little self-control, and if left free will have children whether married or not. The laws against undesirable marriages need to be revised in most of the American states; and the public needs to be convinced that no such law can eradicate the evil. Nothing but the compulsory seclusion of all defectives under humane housing, training, and labor conditions will accomplish the eugenic object of the community. Laws which provide that candidates for marriage must be free from syphilis or gonorrhea do good, provided that proper provision be made for the certificate to that effect from a trustworthy physician appointed by the state. The appointment for this duty of an adequate number of physicians by the state boards of health would give a new and important function to these boards. The maintenance of such a staff, furnished with all the means of applying adequate tests in doubtful cases, would be somewhat expensive, but this expense might perhaps be covered in part by a moderate addition to the fee for a marriage license. Each physician would probably require the aid of a man and a woman competent to inquire into the family histories of the applicants for a marriage license.

It is probable that much public instruction will have to be given through newspapers, magazines, lectures, and discussions in men's clubs and women's clubs before sound and effective eugenic legislation

can be placed on the statute books. Again we find that public progress in relation to sex hygiene and eugenics is to be procured chiefly through educational methods. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the processes adopted for diffusing sound knowledge about the normal and the morbid sex relations, the dangers of licentiousness, safe mating with a view of healthy progeny, the prevention of the reproduction of defectives, the destruction of commerce in vice, and the prevention of venereal contagions should all be carried on plainly but delicately, without exaggeration or morbid suggestion, without interference with parental rights or religious convictions, and in general in a pure, high-minded, disinterested way. The pioneering part of this work must be done by voluntary associations, as is usual in social reforms; but it should be the constant aim of these private organizations to enlist gradually the public authorities in this vast undertaking, and to transfer to the public treasury as fast as possible the support of all those parts of the work which experience proves to be of sure and permanent public advantage. The pioneering in regard to both research and practical measures will probably continue for many years to be the work of voluntary associations.

1913

GOVERNMENT

THE EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION

CAMBRIDGE, December 12, 1874.

To the Commissioners of the Commonwealth, appointed "to inquire into the expediency of revising and amending the laws of the State relating to taxation and the exemptions therefrom":—

GENTLEMEN:—In accordance with a request contained in a letter of October 14, 1874, from Prof. J. H. Seelye, that I lay before your Commission my "views respecting the present exemption from taxation of property used for religious, educational, and charitable purposes," I respectfully present for your consideration the following paper.

Your obedient servant,
CHARLES W. ELIOT.

THE property which has been set apart for religious, educational, and charitable uses is not to be thought of or dealt with as if it were private property; for it is completely unavailable for all the ordinary purposes of property, so long as the trusts endure. It is like property of a city or State which is essential for carrying on the work of the city or State, and so cannot be reckoned among the public assets; it is irrecoverable and completely unproductive. The capital is sunk, so to speak, just as the cost of a sewer or a highway is capital sunk. There is a return, both from a church or a college, and from a sewer or a highway, in the benefit secured to the community; but the money which built them is no longer to be counted as property, in the

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common sense. It can never again be productive, except for the purposes of the trust for which it was set apart.

When a new road is made where there was none, the State, or some individual, sacrifices the value of the land it covers, and the money spent in building the road. It also sacrifices the opportunity to tax, in the future, the improvements which might have been put upon that land if it had not been converted into a road, and all the indirect taxable benefits which might have been derived from the use for productive purposes of the land, and of the money which the road cost. When a church, or a college, or a hospital, buys land, and erects buildings thereon, the State does not sacrifice the value of the land, or the money spent upon the buildings; private persons make these sacrifices; but the State does sacrifice, by the exemption statute, the opportunity to tax, in the future, the improvements which might have been put upon that land if it had not been converted to religious, educational, or charitable uses, and all the indirect taxable benefits which might have been derived from the use for productive purposes of the land, and of the money which the buildings cost.

This is the precise burden of the exemption upon the State. Why does the State assume it? For a reason similar to, though much stronger than, its reason for building a new road and losing that area forever for taxation. The State believes that the new road will be such a convenience to the community, that the indirect gain from making it will be greater than the direct and indirect loss. In the

same way the State believes, or at least believed when the exemption statute was adopted, that the indirect gain to its treasury which results from the establishment of the exempted institutions is greater than the loss which the exemption involves. If this belief is correct, in the main, though not perhaps universally and always, the exemption can hardly be described as a burden to the State at large.

The parallel between a sewer or a highway, on the one hand, and land and buildings of exempted institutions, on the other, may be carried a little farther with advantage. The abutters often pay a part of the cost of the sewer or the highway which passes their doors, because it is of more use to them than to the rest of the inhabitants, and the members of the religious, educational, or charitable society erect their necessary buildings and pay for their land themselves. If it be granted that the religious, educational, or charitable use is a public use, like the use of a sewer or a highway, there is no more reason for taxing the church, the academy, or the hospital, than for annually taxing the abutters on a sewer or a highway on the cost of that sewer or on the cost of the highway and its value considered as so many feet of land, worth, like the adjoining lots, so many dollars a foot. The community is repaid for the loss of the taxable capital sunk in the sewer by the benefit to the public health, and the resulting enhancement of the value of all its territory. In like manner, it is repaid for the loss of the capital set apart for religious, educational, and charitable uses, by the increase of mo-

rality, spirituality, intelligence, and virtue, and the general well-being which results therefrom. To tax lands, buildings, or funds which have been devoted to religious or educational purposes would be to divert money from the highest public use—the promotion of learning and virtue—to some lower public use, like the maintenance of roads, prisons or courts, an operation which cannot be expedient until too large an amount of property has been devoted to the superior use. This is certainly not the case in Massachusetts to-day. The simple reasons for the exemption of churches, colleges, and hospitals from taxation are these: first, that the State needs those institutions; and secondly, that experience has shown that by far the cheapest and best way in which the State can get them is to encourage benevolent and public-spirited people to provide them by promising not to divert to inferior public uses any part of the income of the money which these benefactors devote to this noblest public use. The statute which provides for the exemption is that promise.

Exemption from taxation is not then a form of State aid, in the usual sense of those words; it is an inducement or encouragement held out by the State to private persons, or private corporations, to establish or maintain institutions which are of benefit to the State. The answer to the question, —Why should the State give encouragement, in any form, to private corporations which support churches, academies, colleges, hospitals, asylums, and similar institutions of learning, advanced education, and public charity?—involves, therefore, an

exposition of the public usefulness of these corporations. I say advanced education, because the lower grades of education are already provided for at the public charge, and there seems to be little disposition to question the expediency and rightfulness of this provision.

The reason for treating these institutions in an exceptional manner is, that having no selfish object in view, or purpose of personal gain, they contribute to the welfare of the State. Their function is largely a public function; their work is done primarily, indeed, for individuals, but ultimately for the public good. It is not enough to say of churches and colleges that they contribute to the welfare of a State; they are necessary to the existence of a free State. They form and mold the public character; and that public character is the foundation of everything which is precious in the State, including even its material prosperity. To develop noble human character is the end for which States themselves exist, and civil liberty is not a good in itself, but only a means to that good end. The work of churches and institutions of education is a direct work upon human character. The material prosperity of every improving community is a fruit of character; for it is energetic, honest, and sensible men that make prosperous business, and not prosperous business that makes men. Who have built up the manufactures and trade of this bleak and sterile Massachusetts? A few men of singular sagacity, integrity and courage, backed by hundreds of thousands of men and women of common intelligence and honesty. The

roots of the prosperity are in the intelligence, courage and honesty. Massachusetts to-day owes its mental and moral characteristics, and its wealth, to eight generations of people who have loved and cherished Church, School, and College.

The public services of these institutions can hardly need to be enlarged upon. A single sentence may be given to the utility of that class of institutions which I may be supposed to speak for —the institutions of advanced education—the academies, colleges, scientific and technical schools, professional schools and seminaries, art collections and museums of natural history. All the professions called learned or scientific are fed by these institutions; the whole school-system depends upon them, and could not be maintained in efficiency without them; they foster piety, art, literature, and poetry, they gather in and preserve the intellectual capital of the race, and are the storehouses of the acquired knowledge on which invention and progress depend; they enlarge the boundaries of knowledge; they maintain the standards of honor, public duty, and public spirit, and diffuse the refinement, culture, and spirituality without which added wealth would only be added grossness and corruption.

Such is the absolute necessity of the public work which the institutions of religion, education, and charity do, that if the work were not done by these private societies, the State would be compelled to carry it on through its own agents, and at its own charge. In all the civilized world, there are but two known ways of supporting the great institutions of religion, high education, and public char-

ity. The first and commonest way is by direct annual subsidies or appropriations by government; the second way is by means of endowments. These two methods may of course be combined. An endowment, in this sense, is property, once private, which has been consecrated forever to public uses. If, in one generation, a group of people subscribe to buy a piece of land, and build a church thereon, that church is an inalienable endowment for the benefit of succeeding generations. It cannot be diverted from religious uses, or ever again become private property. If a private person bequeath $50,000 with which to maintain six free beds for Boston sick or wounded in the Massachusetts General Hospital, which is an institution supported by endowments, that beneficent act obviates forever the necessity of maintaining six beds at the Boston City Hospital, which is an institution supported by direct taxation. If, by the sacrifices of generous and public-spirited people in seven generations, Harvard University has gradually gathered property which might now be valued at five or six millions of dollars, the State of Massachusetts is thereby saved from an annual expenditure of three or four hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of maintaining the liberal arts and professions; unless, indeed, the people of the State should be willing to leave the work of the university undone. To the precise extent of the work done by the income of endowments is the State relieved of what would otherwise be its charge. If some benevolent private citizen had built with his own money the State Lunatic Hospitals, the State would have been

relieved of a very considerable charge. To tax such endowments is to reduce the good work done by them, and therefore to increase the work to be done by direct appropriation of government money, unless the people are willing to accept the alternative of having less work of the kind done. If the State wants the work done, it has but two alternatives—it can do it itself, or it can encourage and help benevolent and public-spirited individuals to do it. There is no third way.

The above argument in favor of the exemption of institutions of religion, education, and charity from taxation being conclusive unless it can be rebutted, I propose to consider successively the various attempts which have been made to repel or evade it.

The first objection which I propose to consider would be expressed somewhat in this fashion by one who felt it: "I admit that churches, colleges, and hospitals are useful, and I do not wish to see their good work diminished; but these institutions get the benefit of schools, police, roads, street lamps, prisons, and courts, and should help to support them; their friends and supporters are generous, and will more than make good what the institutions contribute to the city or town expenses." The meaning of this suggestion is just this: The body of taxpayers in a given community having, through the public spirit and generosity of a few of their number, got rid of one of their principal charges,—namely, the support of the institutions of religion, high education, and charity,—propose to avoid paying their full proportion of the remaining

charges for public purposes, such as schools, roads, prisons, and police. They propose, by taxing the institutions which the benevolent few established for the benefit of the whole body, to throw upon these same public-spirited and generous men an undue share of the other public charges. To state the same thing in another form: there are in the community common charges, A, B, C, D, and E; A has been provided for by a few private persons at their own cost, and the burden of other taxpayers has been to that extent lightened; thereupon the taxpayers say, Let us take part of the money which these men have given for A, and use it for meeting charges B, C, D, and E. Our friends who provided for A will give some more money for that purpose, and we shall escape a part of our share of the cost of providing for B, C, D, and E. It is at once apparent that this objection is both illogical and mean: illogical, because if churches, colleges, and hospitals subserve the highest public ends, there is no reason for making them contribute to the inferior public charges; and mean, because it deliberately proposes to use the benevolent affections of the best part of the community as means of getting out of them a very disproportionate share of the taxes.

The next objection to the exemption which I propose to consider is formulated as follows: Churches, colleges, and hospitals do indeed render public service; they are useful to the State; but let them be established because the people feel the need of them, just as people feel the need of houses, and food, and clothes, and by all means let them

support themselves; they ought not to be favored or artificially fostered. Railroads, factories, and steamship lines do service to the State; but it does not follow that they ought to be fostered by direct grants of public money, or be exempt from taxation. This objection is a plausible one at first sight; but there is a gap in the argument wide enough for whole communities to fall through into ignorance and misery. For the building of railroads, factories, and steamships there exists an all-sufficient motive—namely, the motive of private gain; and they ought not to be built unless there be a genuine motive of that sort. A few men can combine together to build a cotton mill whenever there seems to be a good chance to make money by so doing; and they will thus supply the community with mills. The benefit they might confer upon the State would not be a legitimate motive for building a mill in the absence of the probability of private gain. Now this motive of private gain is not only absent from the minds of men who found or endow churches, colleges, or hospitals, but would be absolutely ineffective to the end of procuring such institutions. It would be impossible for three or four men to establish and carry on a university simply for the education of their own sons. Those who found and maintain hospitals have, as a rule, no personal use of them. It is an unworthy idea that a church exists for the personal profit and pleasure of its members, or a college for the private advantage of those who are educated there. A church or a college is a sacred trust, to be used and improved by its members of to-day, and to be

by them transmitted to its members of to-morrow. A modern church is an active center of diffused charity, and of public exhortation to duty. The press has enlarged the public influence of the pulpit by adding the multitude who read the printed sermon to the congregation who listen to it. The orators, poets, artists, physicians, architects, preachers, and statesmen do not exercise their trained faculties simply for their own pleasure and advantage, but for the improvement and delight, or the consolation and relief, of the community. In short, they do not live for themselves, and could not if they would. To increase virtue and piety, to diffuse knowledge and foster learning, and to alleviate suffering, are the real motives for founding and maintaining churches, colleges and hospitals. The work must be done through the individuals on whom the institutions spend their efforts, but the motive of those who promote the work is the public good and the advancement of humanity. Mills, hotels, railroads, and steamships, moreover, though they benefit the public, benefit them only in a material way; they provide clothing, shelter, easy transportation, and, in general, increase material well-being. People may be relied on to make themselves comfortable or wealthy, if they can; but they need every possible aid in making themselves good, or learned. The self-interest of no man, and of no association of men, would lead to the establishment of a university. The motive of private gain or benefit being wholly lacking in most cases, and feeble in all, it is to be expected that institutions of religion, high educa-

tion, and public charity would not be founded and maintained, except by the direct action of the State, on the one hand, or, on the other, by the benefactions of private persons encouraged by fostering legislation. This is precisely the experience of all the modern nations. The American States now do less for the institutions of religion directly than any civilized nation, and they have done wisely in completely avoiding an establishment of religion; but from the time when they ceased to support religious institutions directly they fostered them by exempting them from taxation. Institutions of high education never have been self-supporting in any country; and there is no reason whatever to suppose that they ever can be. If they were made self-supporting, they would be inaccessible to the poor, and be maintained exclusively for the benefit of the rich. The higher the plane of teaching, the more the teaching costs, and the fewer the pupils, from the nature of the case. As to the charitable corporations whose whole income is used upon the sick, blind, or insane poor, the notion that they could ever be self-supporting is of course an absurdity. Hospitals and asylums which are wholly devoted to taking care of men and women of the laboring classes who have lost their health, their reason, or some of their senses, cannot be self-supporting in the nature of the case. It is an abuse of language to apply the word to them; they are inevitably supported by private benevolence, or from the government treasury, or by the combination of these two resources.

The opinion, then, that churches, colleges, and

charitable institutions would be established in sufficient numbers without fostering legislation, and be as well maintained taxed as untaxed, has no warrant either in sound reason or in experience. Not a bit of practical experience can be found in the civilized world to support it; and the analogy set up between these institutions of religion, education, and charity, on the one hand, and establishments of trade, manufactures, and transportation, on the other, is wholly inapplicable and deceptive.

I come now to the consideration of an objection to the exemption, which is local in its nature, but not on that account less worthy of careful examination. Those who urge this objection admit that the public receive great benefits from churches, colleges, and hospitals; but, as these institutions necessarily have local habitations, and taxes under our laws are locally levied, they allege that the particular cities or towns in which the institutions happen to be situated bear, in loss of taxable property, the so-called burden of their exemption, while the whole State, or perhaps the whole country, shares the public benefits which accrue from them. The public burdened, it is alleged, is not the same public as the public benefited. This objection assumes, in the first place, that it is a burden to a city or town to have a lot of land within its borders occupied by an institution exempted from taxation; and this assumption is based upon the belief that, if the exempted institution did not occupy the lot, the taxable houses, or factories, or stores within the limits of the city or town would be increased by the number of houses or stores which might stand upon

the exempted lot. This is a proposition which is generally quite incapable of proof, and is intrinsically improbable, but which nevertheless has, in some cases, a small basis of unimportant fact. It implies that there is an unsatisfied demand for eligible land on which to build houses, or factories, or stores, within the city or town limits; but this can be the case only in very few exceptionally situated cities, and not all the time in them, but only spasmodically in seasons of speculation or unusual activity, and even then not over their whole area, but only in very limited portions of it. Of course the cost of the buildings which might be erected upon a lot rescued from an exempted institution is not to be counted as an additional resource for the tax-gatherer; for that amount was, under our laws, taxable somewhere before as personal property. If, in any town or city, there are houses, or factories, or stores enough to meet the demand for such accommodations, the town or city will gain nothing by having more buildings erected. There may be more houses or more stores, but each house or each store will be worth less. In a large city there will always be a few streets, and perhaps wharves, which are absolutely needed for business purposes. Thus, for example, it might not be expedient to have an exempted institution, which had no need of water-front, occupy a portion of a limited water-front, every yard of which was needed for commerce. It might not be expedient that a church should occupy a street corner, or an open square, in the heart of the business quarter of a growing city—though London has not felt obliged

to move St. Paul's into the country, or build upon Trafalgar Square. But such peculiar cases are to be wisely treated as the exceptions which they really are; at any rate, they cannot be made the basis of a great State's policy toward its most precious institutions—its institutions of religion, learning, and charity. As a rule, the amount of taxed property, real and personal, in a town or city is in no way diminished by the fact that a portion of its territory is exempted from taxation; and in many cases it is obvious that the taxable property is actually increased by reservations, whether natural—like small sheets of water, or artificial—like parks, squares, or open grounds about churches and public buildings. It is well known that in many new towns and cities of the Western States it was a well-recognized and, in some cases, very successful device for raising the price of house-lots, and stimulating the speculation in land, to make a large reservation in the center of the town for an academy or college. This is one of the reasons why there are such a multitude of colleges in the West. It is but a few years since several towns were bidding against each other to get the Massachusetts Agricultural College planted within their borders. The town of Amherst paid $50,000 for this privilege. In Boston itself, the block of land on which the buildings of the Natural History Society and the Institute of Technology stand was given to those corporations on the condition that, if the lands surrounding the reserved area did not rise in value, in consequence of the grant, enough to cover the estimated value of the reservation itself, then

the two corporations should pay the deficiency. These corporations never had to pay anything for their land. The city had just as much value in land available for taxation after the gift was made to these two exempted societies as it would have had if no such gift had been made. It cannot be maintained that the exemption of the church lots in a country town is in any possible sense a burden to the town, or that it diminishes in any way the valuation or amount of the property in the town which is available for taxation. On the contrary, every estate in the town is worth more to the occupant and to the assessor, because of the presence of those churches. The proposition that the presence, in a town or city, of exempted institutions diminishes the amount of taxable property therein is, therefore, not only incapable of proof, but is manifestly untrue in the vast majority of cases.

There are, nevertheless, some cases in which a new exemption involves a real loss, though not without compensations, to the town or city from which the property was abstracted; and there are also cases in which the restoration of an exempted piece of property to taxation might be a real gain, in spite of considerable losses. When a benevolent citizen of one town gives $100,000 of personal property to an exempted institution situated in another town, the first town loses so much property which was there taxable, and the second town has the local benefit of the institution, if there be any. On the other hand, the town which loses in this case has similar chances of gaining local benefits by gifts to institutions situated within its limits from

citizens of other towns. Again, it by no means follows that the citizen who gave this $100,000 would have kept it in a taxable form at his place of residence, if he had not given it to an exempted institution. Such gifts are often—perhaps generally—made out of annual earnings or sudden profits; and if the $100,000 had not been given to an exempted institution, it might have been unprofitably consumed, or lost, or given away to individuals resident elsewhere. A good deal of the personal property which now goes to churches, colleges, and hospitals would be consumed outright if it were not so saved. If the gift is made by will, instead of during life, there are more chances that the $100,000 would, in the distribution of the property, have been carried away from the testator's place of residence, at any rate. When a piece of estate is transferred to an exempted institution for its own proper use, the local benefits of the institution, if there be any, are for the same town which gives up the taxes on the piece of real estate, and the withdrawal of that piece from productive uses probably brings some other piece into use at once, or at least sooner than would otherwise have happened. It would seem, at first sight, as if it would be clear gain to get a piece of land, once exempted, taxed again, and covered with taxable houses or stores; but there are always drawbacks on the gain. If Boston Common should be cut up and built upon, the conveniently situated houses and stores built there would cause other houses and stores, less well placed, to be vacated or to fall in value; and the improvement of real estate in the outskirts

would be arrested or checked for a time. The estates which face the Common would also fall in value. It would be a permanent gain that the business of the city would probably be more conveniently done thereafter; and this indirect gain, whatever it might be, would ultimately be represented in the taxable property of the city. In this particular instance the productiveness of Boston would doubtless be diminished by the loss of health, vigor, and spirits, on the part of the inhabitants, consequent upon the loss of the healthful open area. It is, then, quite impossible to maintain that any exemption is a clear loss to the place in which it exists. With every loss there come chances of advantage. Sometimes the loss is great and the compensation small, and sometimes the advantages quite outweigh the loss. We have seen that, in the long run, there is no real loss to the State at large; and, in all probability, the local gains and losses of the various towns and cities of the Commonwealth would be found to be distributed with tolerable fairness, if the averaging period were long enough. Absolute equality in matters of taxation is unattainable.

It is important to demonstrate satisfactorily the statement just made, that great advantages often accrue to a town or city from the presence of institutions exempted from taxation, advantages which much more than offset any losses which are real. A concrete instance will best illustrate this proposition; and no better instance can be chosen than that of Harvard University, an exempted institution occupying about seventy acres of land in the

city of Cambridge, which land, with the buildings thereon and their contents, is alleged by the assessors to be worth from three to four millions of dollars. This case is perhaps as strong as any on the side of the objectors to the exemption, because the exempted area is large and its value is high, and on this very account it is a case well adapted to my present purpose. In the first place, all the land which faces or adjoins the university's inclosures is enhanced in value in consequence of that position. The open grounds of the university have the same effect on the surrounding lands which open spaces of an ornamental character always have in cities. They improve the quality and value of the whole neighborhood. Secondly, the university brings to Cambridge a large amount of personal property, which becomes taxable there. The fifty families of which the heads are teachers in the university possess, on the average, an amount of personal property which much exceeds the property of the average family throughout the city. A considerable number of families are always living near the university for the sake of educating their children. They come to Cambridge for this express purpose, and stay there from four to seven years, or sometimes indefinitely. Many of these families have large means; in fact, few others could afford such a temporary change of residence. Again, families of former officers and teachers in the university continue to live in Cambridge; and it is notorious that some of the largest properties taxed in the city are of this sort. Finally, families come to Cambridge to live because of the society which has

gathered about the university. The amount of taxable personal property brought into Ward One of Cambridge by the university in these several ways counts by millions. Accordingly, this ward is the richest ward in Cambridge, and has always been the most desirable part of the city to live in, as the character of its houses and of its population abundantly testifies. It has eighteen per cent. of the houses in Cambridge and sixteen per cent. of the polls, while it has thirty per cent. of the taxable property. The ward had no natural advantage over the rest of the city, having, to this day, its fair share of bogs, salt marshes, and sandy barrens. The greater part of its surface is but a few feet above high-water mark, and nothing but the presence of the university during two hundred and forty years has made it the desirable place of residence it is.

In still another way does the university bring taxable money to Cambridge. It collects from its students in Cambridge about $150,000 a year, adds thereto about $50,000 of the income of its personal property, and pays this large sum out as salaries and wages to people who live in Cambridge. A large portion of this sum is annually taxed by the city as the income of individuals in excess of $2,000 a year.

It is well understood that the building of a new factory in a village, or the introduction of some new industry into a town, which gives employment to a large number of respectable people, is a gain to that village or town. Whatever brings into a town a large body of respectable consumers benefits that

town. Now, the university brings into Cambridge a large body of respectable consumers: there are fifty families of teachers, about fifty more unmarried officers, about one thousand students, and about one hundred janitors, mechanics, laborers, bed-makers and waiters, a fair proportion of whom have families. As the great part of these persons belong to the refined and intelligent and well-to-do class, they consume very much more than the average of the community. The money thus spent in Cambridge is mainly brought from without, for the greater part of it is either derived from the personal property of the university, or it is money brought from home by the students. If it were not for the presence of this body of consumers, the land, houses, and shops of that part of Cambridge would all be worth less than they are, and the assessors would find so much less to tax.

It is a great advantage to a city to have a place of high education at its doors, just as it adds to the attractiveness and prosperity of a city to maintain good schools. Nearly one hundred Cambridge young men are now members of the university.

The grounds of the university adorn the city, and serve as protection against spreading conflagrations. They give light and air, trees, shrubs, grass, and birds to a part of the city which must soon become densely populated. In the future they will serve many of the purposes of a public park, while they will be maintained without expense to the city. The buildings and collections of the university, which are becoming more and more attractive, are a source of interest and pleas-

ure to all the people of the neighborhood. It is a curious illustration of the incidental advantages which Cambridge has reaped from the presence of the university, that printing and binding are still principal industries in the city, industries which give employment to hundreds of work-people and a large taxable capital. The business of printing was planted in Cambridge by the college, and was maintained there by the college, in spite of great difficulties, for many years.

Finally the presence of the university gives distinction to the city. Cambridge is one of the famous spots of the country, and its citizens take pride and pleasure in its eminence.

I have taken a single notable example through which to exhibit the various advantages which a town or city may derive from the presence of one of the exempted institutions. *Mutatis mutandis,* the principles just laid down apply to almost all of them, with a force which varies with the locality, the nature of the institution, and the stage of its development. The benefits of many of the exempted charitable institutions are almost exclusively local. The direct benefits of a town's churches are largely, though not exclusively, local, and if the church buildings are beautiful, or interesting from historical associations, this indirect benefit is local too. It may not be impossible to pick out some exceptional institution of education or charity, or some single peculiarly placed church, to which these principles concerning the bearing of the exemption upon the interests of localities may not apply in their full force, or may

not apply at all at a given moment; but the legislator should never be much influenced by the exceptions to general rules, or by momentary abnormal phenomena, or by the back eddies in a strong current of opinion.

We have seen that exempted institutions are considered by towns desirable acquisitions, in spite of the exemption. There is competition among them even for the State prison and the lunatic asylums; and they doubtless understand their own interests. But if the towns were allowed to tax the institutions now exempted, what a treasure would a college, or a hospital, with a large amount of personal property, be to a town! The town would have all the indirect local benefits of the institution, and the taxes on its property besides; and this unmerited addition to the property taxable in the town would correspond to no service performed, sacrifice made, or burden borne by the town.

It has been often asserted that to exempt an institution from taxation is the same thing as to grant it money directly from the public treasury. This statement is sophistical and fallacious. It is true that the immediate effect on the public treasury is in dollars and cents the same, whether Harvard University be taxed $50,000, and then get a grant of $50,000, or be exempted from taxes to the amount of $50,000, and get no grant. The immediate effect on the budget of the university would also be the same. The proximate effects of these two methods of State action in favor of religion, education, and charity are however unlike—so

unlike, indeed, that one is a safe method, while the other is an unsafe method in the long run, though it may be justifiable under exceptional circumstances. The exemption method is comprehensive, simple, and automatic; the grant method, as it has been exhibited in this country, requires special legislation of a peculiarly dangerous sort, a legislation which inflames religious quarrels, gives occasion for acrimonious debates, and tempts to jobbery. The exemption method leaves the trustees of the fostered institutions untrammeled in their action, and untempted to unworthy acts or mean compliances. The grant method, as practised here, puts them in the position of importunate suitors for the public bounty, or, worse, converts them into ingenious and unscrupulous assailants of the public treasury. Finally and chiefly,—and to this point I ask special attention,—the exemption method fosters public spirit, while the grant method, persevered in, annihilates it. The State says to the public-spirited benefactor, "You devote a part of your private property forever to certain public uses; you subscribe to build a church, for example, or you endow an academy; we agree not to take a portion of the income of that property every year for other public uses, such as the maintenance of schools, prisons, and highways." That is the whole significance of the exemption of any endowment from taxation. The State agrees that no part of the income of property, once private, which a former generation, or the present generation, has devoted forever to some particular public use, shall be diverted by

the State to other public uses. The exemption method is emphatically an encouragement to public benefactors. On the contrary, the grant method extinguishes public spirit. No private person thinks of contributing to the support of an institution which has once got firmly saddled on the public treasury. The exemption method fosters the public virtues of self-respect and reliance; the grant method leads straight to an abject dependence upon that superior power—Government. The proximate effects of the two methods of State action are as different as well-being from pauperism, as republicanism from communism. It depends upon the form which the action of the State takes, and upon the means which must be used to secure its favor, whether the action of the State be on the whole wholesome or pernicious. The exemption is wholesome, while the direct grant is, in the long run, pernicious.

There has been, of late years, a good deal of vague declamation against endowments. We have heard much of the follies and whimsies of testators, and fearful pictures have been painted of dead hands stretched out from the cold grave to chill and oppress the living. We frequently read sneers and flings at those benefactors of the public who, living or dying, consecrate their money to religious, educational, or charitable uses. In urging the abolition of the exemption, much use has been made of this sort of appeal. What is its basis? Are there any grounds whatever for jealousy of endowments? Millions of private property in this State have been devoted to public uses of religion,

education, and charity. These endowments are all doing good work for the present generation, and are likely to do good to many generations to come. To how many injurious or useless endowments can any one point in Massachusetts? There are persons who too hastily say that they hold Catholic churches to be injurious endowments; but it must be a very bigoted Protestant that does not admit that a Catholic church is better for a Catholic population than no church at all. Catholics would doubtless, in these days, grant as much as that for a Protestant population. The judicious legislator, when he speaks of the church, does not mean any particular church, or the churches of any particular sect; he means the sum of all the churches, the aggregate of all religious institutions, Christian, Israelite and Greek, Roman and Protestant, Congregational, Baptist, Anglican and Quaker. To legislate, directly or indirectly, either for or against any particular religious belief or worship would be utterly repugnant to all sound American opinion and practice.

What silly fancy or absurd whim of a testator can be instanced in Massachusetts? Is anybody in this country obstructed, as to his rights, duties, or enjoyments, by any endowment or foundation provided by the living or the dead? The suggestion is to the last degree ungrateful and absurd. Because there have been found in England a few endowments six or seven centuries old, which, in the changed condition of society, had come to do more harm than good, shall we on this fresh continent, in this newly organized society, distrust all

endowments? Let us at least wait to be hurt before we cry out. If the time ever comes in this country when certain endowments, or classes of endowments, are found to do more harm than good to the community, legislation must then reform them, so as to prevent the harm and increase the good. We may be sure that our descendants of five centuries hence will have the sense to treat the endowments which we are establishing as England has treated some of her medieval endowments—reconstruct them, when they need it, without destroying them. Taxation would not only be no remedy for the folly of endowments, if there were foolish endowments; but it would actually abridge the moral right of the State to interfere with mischievous endowments. Institutions which are fostered by the State through exemption from taxation must admit the ultimate right of the State to inquire into the administration of their affairs. An institution, on the other hand, which got no help from the State, and was taxed like a private person, would have a right to claim all the immunity from State inquiry into its affairs which an individual may claim. Thus the State may and should demand from every exempted institution an annual statement of its affairs which could be given to the public; but no such statement for public use could properly be demanded of an institution which paid taxes like any private citizen. Such an institution would have a moral right to the privacy to which an individual is entitled in a free country.

In this country, when one wishes to scoff at en-

dowments, he must draw on his imagination for his facts. There is but one well-founded charge to bring against our countrymen in this matter of setting apart private property for public uses of religion, education, and charity. They scatter their gifts too widely; so that a greater number of institutions are started than can be well maintained. But the remedy for this evil is to consolidate endowments—not to tax them. This consolidation has already begun, and will be brought about by the gradual enlightenment of public opinion on this subject. To draw a vivid picture of alleged scandals and abuses, and then propose some action of an irrelevant nature, desired for other reasons, as if it were a remedy for those scandals and abuses, is a well-known device of ingenious disputants; but it is a device which ought not to impose on clear-headed people. To prejudice the mass of the people against endowments is the part of a demagogue, for it is to induce them to act ignorantly in direct opposition to their own real interests; since endowments exist for the benefit of the great mass of the people, while they are a matter of but slight concern to the rich. The rich man does not care whether education be dear or cheap; he does not want the scholarships of a college; he does not need to send his children to a hospital; he could afford to keep a clergyman in his own family, if he cared to. It is the poor man who needs the church which others have built; the college which, because it has endowments, is able to offer his ambitious son a liberal education; the hospital which will give him, when disabled, atten-

dance as skilful and careful as the rich man can buy. Moreover, the poor man has no direct interest in this proposed taxation of the institutions now exempted; it will not help him pay his poll-tax, nor lessen the amount of it; it will help no one but the property-holders. It is natural enough that a property-holder who has no public spirit should desire to escape his share of the charge of supporting institutions of public utility, on the ground that he feels no personal need of them. But that a man of property feels no want of institutions which are necessary to the security of the community, and does not believe in them, are no reasons for excusing him from his share in the support of these institutions. The doctrine that a citizen can justly be called upon to contribute to the support of those things only which he approves, or which are of direct benefit to him, would cripple our public schools as well as our colleges, and, in fact, would destroy the basis of almost all taxation.

The Massachusetts statute about the exemption, as it is administered, guards effectually against all the real evils described by the law term "mort-main"—a word the translation of which seems to be such an irresistible rhetorical titbit for many who advocate taxing churches and carrying on universities by legislative grants. It is, indeed, inexpedient that religious, educational, or charitable corporations should hold large quantities of real estate for purposes of revenue; first, because experience shows that such corporate bodies do not, as a rule, improve real estate as steadily and promptly as individuals; and secondly, because the accumu-

lation of large quantities of land in single hands, although permissible, and often rather beneficial than hurtful to the community, is an operation which needs the natural check of death and distribution among heirs. This check is wanting in the case of permanent corporations. Now, the Massachusetts statute does not exempt from taxation real estate held by religious, educational, and charitable institutions for purposes of revenue. On the contrary, all such property so held by these institutions pays taxes precisely as if the pieces of property belonged to private individuals. If the Old South Church corporation owns stores from which it derives income applicable to the purposes of its trust, those stores are taxed precisely as if they were the property of individuals. Harvard University owns a number of stores in the business part of Boston; with one exception (a store included in the exemption given by the charter of 1650), these stores are taxed just as if they belonged to an individual. If the Catholic Church undertakes to hold real estate for income, or as an investment, it has to pay taxes on such property, under the existing statute, like any private citizen. No exempted institution can hold real estate free of taxes except that which is fairly necessary for the purposes of the religious, educational, or charitable trust. It would be a dishonorable evasion of the real intent of the statute to claim exemption on real estate which was bought with the intention of selling it again at a profit; and if any addition could be made to the statute which would make such a practice impossible, or would subject to penalties any institu-

tion which should be guilty of it, such an addition would be an improvement; although it is altogether likely that the offense contemplated has never, as a matter of fact, been committed. Of course, the mere fact that an institution has made a sale of exempted land is not in itself evidence of an evasion of the statute; for poverty may compel an institution to part with land which it ought, in the real interest of the trust, to keep. It is also a perfectly legitimate transaction for an exempted institution to sell one site in order to occupy another. One cause of the agitation for the abolition of the exemption has been the distrust awakened by sales of church property at large profit in the older parts of our growing cities. But these sales are perfectly legitimate. Those who believe in the public utility of churches need only to be assured that the proceeds of these advantageous sales must be invested in new churches—that none of the property can relapse into the condition of private property. This assurance the action of the Massachusetts courts indisputably gives. It is hard to see why these transfers of churches from more valuable to less valuable city lots should seem a grievance to anybody. Whenever a city church sells its old site for a large sum, buys a new site for a much smaller sum, and with the balance erects a handsome church, the amount of property exempted from taxation remains precisely what it was before, and the city gains an ornamental building. There is less value in the exempted land than before, but more in the building. On the whole, considering the nature of American legislation concerning testamentary dis-

positions and the holding and transfer of land, considering the nature and history of our ecclesiastical bodies and the mobility of our whole social fabric, there is probably no economical evil from which an American State is so little likely to suffer as the medieval evil of mortmain. To live in apprehension of it would be as little reasonable as for the people of Boston to live in constant dread of being overwhelmed by an eruption of lava from Blue Hill.

It has been suggested by persons who apprehend that the institutions of religion, education and charity, or some of them, will get a disproportionate and injurious development, that only a limited exemption should be allowed them, the limit to be fixed by legislation. If, however, the property of these corporations is really held and used for a high public purpose, it is hard to understand how it can be for the interest of the public to pass any laws which tend to limit the amount of that property—at least until more property has been set aside for that purpose than can be well used. If it is inexpedient for the State to use for its common purposes—not religious or educational—any portion of the income of a church or an academy up to $5000, why is it not also inexpedient to divert from religious or educational uses any portion of the income above $5000? If the legislature could tell with certainty just how much property it was expedient for a church, or a college, or a hospital to have, then a limit for exempted property in each case would be natural and right; but the legislature cannot have this knowledge; and if

they could acquire it for to-day, it would be outgrown to-morrow. Moreover, the circumstances and functions of the various exempted institutions are so widely different and so changeable, that each institution would necessarily have its own limit prescribed by law, and would be incessantly besieging the legislature for a change in its limit. The legislature would be forced to keep removing the limit of exemption, because in most cases there would be no logic in the limit. The more books there are in a library the better; it would be absurd to exempt the first hundred thousand, and tax the second hundred thousand. The more good pictures, statues, and engravings there are in an art museum, the better; it would be absurd to exempt a museum while it had few of these precious objects, and tax it when it got more, and so became more useful to the public. A sumptuary law to prevent the erection of beautiful churches, by taxing the excess of the value of a church above a certain moderate sum, would be singular legislation for Massachusetts. Who can tell how much money Harvard, or Amherst, or Williams could use legitimately to-day for the advantage of the State in advanced education? If one knew to-day, the knowledge would be worthless next year. The one perfectly plain fact is that no one of the institutions of advanced education in this State has one half the property which it could use to advantage. It would be cruel mockery to enact that a woman who can hardly buy calico and flannel shall not wear velvet and sable. The amount of exempted real estate which any of the exempted institutions

can hold is limited by natural causes. As such real estate is, as a rule, completely unproductive, the institution will not be likely to tie up any more of its property in that form than it can help. A limit to exempted real estate has seemed desirable to some persons, because it has sometimes happened in large cities that institutions of religion, education, or charity have changed their sites with great profit; but in such cases the community gets the whole advantage of the profit in the increased work of the church, college, or hospital. Moreover, such transactions imply a growing population, likely to make increasing demands upon the institutions of religion, education, and charity, which, therefore, need all the new resources which the growth of population fairly brings them.

Those who advocate limiting the amount of the exempted property which may be held for a religious, educational, or charitable trust seem to forget that it is the public which is the real enjoyer of all such property, and that it is the public only which is really interested in its increase, except as gratitude, affection, or public spirit may prompt individuals to share this public interest. All such trusts are gifts "to a general public use, which extends to the poor as well as the rich," to quote Lord Camden's definition of a charity in the legal sense. They are gifts for the benefit of an indefinite number of persons, by bringing their minds under the influence of religion or education, or by relieving their bodies from disease. They are trusts in the support and execution of which the whole public is concerned, on which account

they are allowed, unlike private trusts, to be perpetual. Now, for the public to make laws which tend to discourage private persons from giving property to the public for its own uses is as unwise as for the natural heir to put difficulties in the way of a well-disposed relative who is making his will. The fact that the property of these public trusts is administered by persons who are not immediately chosen or appointed by the public obscures to some minds the essential principle that the property is really held and used for the public benefit; but the mode of administration does not alter the uses, or make the property any less property held for the public. Experience has shown that many of the religious, educational and charitable works of the community can be peacefully, frugally, and wisely carried on by boards of trustees; and that method has been preferred in England and the United States. On the continent of Europe these functions are discharged by government; but, under both methods of administration, the functions are public functions. The fact that nobody has any permanent interest in the property of such trusts, except the public, is well brought out by imagining what would occur if a church, or an academy, or an insane asylum should be taxed, and nobody should come forward to pay the taxes. It is nobody's private interest to pay such taxes. The city or town could proceed to sell the church or other building belonging to the trust; but if it did so, the effect would be that a piece of property which had been set apart for public uses would become private property again, unless some benev-

olent persons should, for the love of God or the love of their neighbors, buy the property over again for its original public uses. A city might as well levy taxes on its city hall, and sell it for taxes in default of payment.

It remains to consider the effect of abolishing the exemption. No church could be maintained upon ground which would be very valuable for other purposes, and costly church edifices would be out of the question. A society whose land and building were worth $300,000 would have to pay $4,500 a year in taxes, besides all the proper expenses of a church. The burden would be intolerable. The loss to the community, in that pure pleasure which familiar objects of beauty give, would be unspeakable. The village could spare its spired wooden church as ill as the city its cathedral. Cities have learned that fine architecture in their own buildings is a justifiable luxury. On the same betterment principle handsome churches are profitable to the public as well as delightful. I say nothing of the grievous moral loss to the whole people which would result from crippling the existing churches, and making it harder to build the new ones which our growing population should have. That loss would be deep and wide-spread and lasting; but other pens than mine can better depict it. Educational institutions would be obliged to take the taxes out of the income of their personal property or out of their tuition fees. The fifty or sixty thousand dollars which the city of Cambridge would take next year from Harvard University would be deducted from the money now

available for salaries of teachers. This sum represents the pay of from twelve to fifteen professors, or of a much larger number of teachers of the lower grades. Moreover, the sum thus withdrawn from teaching would annually increase with the rising value of land in Cambridge; while it can by no means be assumed that the personal property and tuition fees of the University would increase proportionally. The burden might easily become wholly unbearable. The barbarous character of the proposition to tax property devoted to educational purposes may be well brought home by specifying a few of the items of what would be the tax on Harvard University. Memorial Hall, with the two acres of land in which it stands, would be taxable for not less than $550,000 next year, and there is no telling the price per foot to which the land may rise, for it is well situated between three good streets. Eight thousand dollars would be next year's tax on that monument of pure devotion to the public good; and every year the tax would increase. Charlestown might as well be allowed to tax Bunker Hill Monument, as Cambridge to tax Memorial Hall. To commemorate the virtue of its one hundred and forty graduates and students who died for their country in the war of the Rebellion would cost the University the salaries of at least two professorships every year, in addition to the original cost of the land and buildings and the maintenance of the buildings. Moreover, every added picture or bust would entail an additional contribution on the part of the University to the ordinary expenses of the city of Cambridge. To

place Charles Sumner's bust in the Hall would increase the annual taxes by $7.50, and to hang there the portrait of Col. Robert G. Shaw, who was killed at Fort Wagner, would give $15 a year to the city. The College Library may be freely consulted by all persons, whether connected with the University or not. With the building which contains it, this collection of books could hardly be valued at less than $300,000—a sum very far short of its cost. There would, therefore, be a tax upon that library of perhaps $4,500 a year now; and, as about $10,000 worth of books are bought each year, the annual increase of the tax would be sure. If it is inexpedient that such a library should be exempt from taxation, how wrong it must be that cities and towns should pay all the expenses of public libraries, besides exempting them from taxation. The Observatory, an institution maintained solely for the advancement of knowledge, and having no regular income except from its endowments, is necessarily surrounded by open grounds, embracing several acres, and it must remain so protected, if good work is to be done there. The taxes on this land would eat up half the income of the Observatory now, and in a few years the whole income. The richer and more populous Cambridge became, the heavier would be the charges upon the University, for the higher would be the price of land throughout the city. It is to be observed that the facts and illustrations used to support the proposition that institutions of religion, education, and charity must be taxed are mostly drawn from the rich towns and cities of the Commonwealth—not from the country

villages. The advisability of taxing churches, colleges, and hospitals does not seem to suggest itself until a community gets very rich—until its territory is at a great price per square foot. When Cambridge was a country village, she was glad to give the College a site for its first building.

The abolition of the exemption would reduce the service of all the institutions of advanced education in the State from 20 to 25 per cent. at present, and this diminution of efficiency would grow greater year by year. All the academies, colleges, professional schools, and scientific or technical schools, all the libraries not town libraries, all the museums of art or natural history, would see from one fifth to one quarter of their income diverted from education, and applied to ordinary city and town expenditures. An extravagant city or town government might at any time demand much more than one fourth of their income. Precious institutions, which render great services to the whole State, or perhaps to the nation, would be at the mercy of a single local government.

It is impossible that a Massachusetts legislature should consent to so great a reduction in the work of the institutions of advanced education all over the State; that work is none too great now. Considering the place which Massachusetts has always claimed among her sister States in all matters of education, and which she must hold if her influence is to be maintained, it is incredible that she should seriously contemplate putting all her best institutions at such a terrible disadvantage in the race for excellence with similar institutions in the other

States, where high education would remain untaxed. Of course, the direct aid of the State would be urgently invoked, and, indeed, it is obvious that the State would be compelled to assume the charges which the crippled endowments for religion, education, and charity could no longer sustain; the State tax would thereby be largely increased, and the taxpayers would lose rather than gain by the change. There is but small chance that local taxes would be diminished by abolishing the exemption. Give the cities and towns of Massachusetts new resources, and instantly they will make new expenditures which will more than absorb those resources. It is the excessive expenditure of towns and cities which has been the principal cause of this extraordinary proposition to tax religion, education, and charity. The assessors are driven to desperate devices for increasing the public revenue. The one real remedy for the evils, which cause the eager search for something new to tax, is reduction of expenditure; and this reduction can only be accomplished through the election of independent and courageous legislators and administrators in towns, cities, and the State at large. Whenever the people find themselves in serious difficulty, they instinctively show their fundamental reliance upon men of character by calling upon them to bring the State out of trouble. The proposition under discussion is a proposition to cripple or crush the institutions which breed men of character. It should be called a proposition to get rid of churches, to cripple colleges, to impair charities, and to extinguish public spirit. The direct intervention of the State might

indeed avert some of these evils, but only at the great cost of adding to the already too numerous and too complex functions of the State, and of strengthening the vicious tendency to centralization of powers in government.

The two nations in which endowments for public uses have long existed are the two free nations of the world. In England and the United States, the method of doing public work by means of endowments managed by private corporations has been domesticated for several centuries; and these are the only two nations which have succeeded on a great scale in combining liberty with stability in free institutions. The connection of these two facts is not accidental. The citizens of a free State must be accustomed to associated action in a great variety of forms; they must have many local centers of common action, and many agencies and administrations for public objects, besides the central agency of government. France perfectly illustrates the deplorable consequences of concentrating all powers in the hands of government. Her people have no experience in associated action, and no means of getting any. To abandon the method of fostering endowments, in favor of the method of direct government action, is to forego one of the great securities of public liberty.

The sudden abolition of the exemption would work great hardship, because of the nature of the contracts and undertakings into which the exempted institutions are accustomed to enter. Churches and colleges have been planted or built up, life salaries have been promised, wills have

been made, gifts received, trusts accepted, and investments made, all on the faith of this exemption. In all the institutions of advanced instruction, for example, professors are appointed for life, and great hardships would result from the violation of that implied contract. It would have been impossible for Amherst College to accept the gift of its new Chapel, or Harvard University the gift of its Memorial Hall, except under the exemption statute. Several active churches in our cities have built chapels for the benefit of the poorer classes; they did this good work under the exemption statute, and neither would nor could otherwise have done it.

In case the legislature should see fit to abolish the exemption, equity would require that taxation should fall, not on property acquired during the existence of the exemption, but only on that acquired after the exemption was repealed. The legislature of a civilized State should always set an example of scrupulous respect for every acquired right or vested interest, particularly when it is endeavoring to enact justice and equality in the distribution of public burdens.

But I trust that it is not necessary to discuss how or by what stages this exemption should be abolished. The American States, rough and rude communities as they are in some respects, still lacking many of the finer fruits of civilization, nevertheless possess in an extraordinary degree the main elements of national strength. Churches, schools, and colleges were their historical foundations, and are to-day their main reliance. The general respect

for religion and education, the prevalence of public spirit, the diffusion of knowledge, the common maintenance of high standards of character—these, and not growing wealth and increasing luxury, are the things which guarantee free institutions. Massachusetts has grown to be what she is under legislation which fostered institutions of religion, high education, and charity, and these institutions, with the public schools, are the very foundations of her social fabric. We must not undermine the foundations of the solid old house which our fathers so wisely built.

If abuses have crept in, let them be reformed. If institutions which are really not of a public character get exempted, cut them off; if greater publicity is desirable in regard to the condition and affairs of the institutions exempted, provide for annual published returns; if there be fear of improper sales of land, long exempted, to the private advantage of the trustees or proprietors of the moment, enact that all sales of such property shall be by order of a court, and that the court shall take cognizance of the investment of the proceeds. But while we reform the abuses, let us carefully preserve the precious uses of the exemption statute. That statute is an essential part of our existing system of taxation. It may be expedient that the whole system should be reconstructed; but the exemption of religious, educational, and charitable property is certainly not the point at which the reconstruction should begin.

Let us transmit to our descendants, in long generations, the invaluable institutions of religion, edu-

cation, and charity which we inherited from our fathers, and transmit them, not merely as strong and ample as ever, but multiplied, beautified, and enriched by our loving care.

1874

FIVE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION

LOOKING back over forty centuries of history, we observe that many nations have made characteristic contributions to the progress of civilization, the beneficent effects of which have been permanent, although the races that made them may have lost their national form and organization, or their relative standing among the nations of the earth. Thus, the Hebrew race, during many centuries, made supreme contributions to religious thought; and the Greek, during the brief climax of the race, to speculative philosophy, architecture, sculpture, and the drama. The Roman people developed military colonization, aqueducts, roads and bridges, and a great body of public law, large parts of which still survive; and the Italians of the middle ages and the Renaissance developed ecclesiastical organization and the fine arts, as tributary to the splendor of the church and to municipal luxury. England, for several centuries, has contributed to the institutional development of representative government and public justice; the Dutch, in the sixteenth century, made a superb struggle for free thought and free government; France, in the eighteenth century, taught the doctrine of individual freedom and the theory of human rights; and Germany, at two periods within the nineteenth century, fifty

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years apart, proved the vital force of the sentiment of nationality. I ask you to consider with me what characteristic and durable contributions the American people have been making to the progress of civilization.

The first and principal contribution to which I shall ask your attention is the advance made in the United States, not in theory only, but in practice, toward the abandonment of war as the means of settling disputes between nations, the substitution of discussion and arbitration, and the avoidance of armaments. If the intermittent Indian fighting and the brief contest with the Barbary corsairs be disregarded, the United States have had only four years and a quarter of international war in the one hundred and seven years since the adoption of the Constitution. Within the same period the United States have been a party to forty-seven arbitrations—being more than half of all that have taken place in the modern world. The questions settled by these arbitrations have been just such as have commonly caused wars, namely, questions of boundary, fisheries, damage caused by war or civil disturbances, and injuries to commerce. Some of them were of great magnitude, the four made under the treaty of Washington (May 8, 1871) being the most important that have ever taken place. Confident in their strength, and relying on their ability to adjust international differences, the United States have habitually maintained, by voluntary enlistment for short terms, a standing army and a fleet which, in proportion to the population, are insignificant.

The beneficent effects of this American contribution to civilization are of two sorts: in the first place, the direct evils of war and of preparations for war have been diminished; and secondly, the influence of the war spirit on the perennial conflict between the rights of the single personal unit and the powers of the multitude that constitute organized society—or, in other words, between individual freedom and collective authority—has been reduced to the lowest terms. War has been, and still is, the school of collectivism, the warrant of tyranny. Century after century, tribes, clans, and nations have sacrificed the liberty of the individual to the fundamental necessity of being strong for combined defense or attack in war. Individual freedom is crushed in war, for the nature of war is inevitably despotic. It says to the private person: "Obey without a question, even unto death; die in this ditch, without knowing why; walk into that deadly thicket; mount this embankment, behind which are men who will try to kill you, lest you should kill them; make part of an immense machine for blind destruction, cruelty, rapine, and killing." At this moment every young man in Continental Europe learns the lesson of absolute military obedience, and feels himself subject to this crushing power of militant society, against which no rights of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness avail anything. This pernicious influence, inherent in the social organization of all Continental Europe during many centuries, the American people have for generations escaped, and they show other nations how to escape it. I

ask your attention to the favorable conditions under which this contribution of the United States to civilization has been made.

There has been a deal of fighting on the American continent during the past three centuries; but it has not been of the sort which most imperils liberty. The first European colonists who occupied portions of the coast of North America encountered in the Indians men of the Stone Age, who ultimately had to be resisted and quelled by force. The Indian races were at a stage of development thousands of years behind that of the Europeans. They could not be assimilated; for the most part they could not be taught or even reasoned with; with a few exceptions they had to be driven away by prolonged fighting, or subdued by force so that they would live peaceably with the whites. This warfare, however, always had in it for the whites a large element of self-defense—the homes and families of the settlers were to be defended against a stealthy and pitiless foe. Constant exposure to the attacks of savages was only one of the formidable dangers and difficulties which for a hundred years the early settlers had to meet, and which developed in them courage, hardiness, and persistence. The French and English wars on the North American continent, always more or less mixed with Indian warfare, were characterized by race hatred and religious animosity—two of the commonest causes of war in all ages; but they did not tend to fasten upon the English colonists any objectionable public authority, or to contract the limits of individual liberty. They furnished a

school of martial qualities at small cost to liberty. In the War of Independence there was a distinct hope and purpose to enlarge individual liberty. It made possible a confederation of the colonists, and, ultimately, the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. It gave to the thirteen colonies a lesson in collectivism, but it was a needed lesson on the necessity of combining their forces to resist an oppressive external authority. The War of 1812 is properly called the Second War of Independence, for it was truly a fight for liberty and for the rights of neutrals, in resistance to the impressment of seamen and other oppressions growing out of European conflicts. The Civil War of 1861-65 was waged, on the side of the North, primarily, to prevent the dismemberment of the country, and, secondarily and incidentally, to destroy the institution of slavery. On the Northern side it therefore called forth a generous element of popular ardor in defense of free institutions; and though it temporarily caused centralization of great powers in the government, it did as much to promote individual freedom as it did to strengthen public authority.

In all this series of fightings the main motives were self-defense, resistance to oppression, the enlargement of liberty, and the conservation of national acquisitions. The war with Mexico, it is true, was of a wholly different type. That was a war of conquest, and of conquest chiefly in the interest of African slavery. It was also an unjust attack made by a powerful people on a feeble one; but it lasted less than two years, and the number of men engaged in it was at no time large. More-

over, by the treaty which ended the war, the conquering nation agreed to pay the conquered eighteen million dollars in partial compensation for some of the territory wrested from it, instead of demanding a huge war-indemnity, as the European way is. Its results contradicted the anticipations both of those who advocated and of those who opposed it. It was one of the wrongs which prepared the way for the great rebellion; but its direct evils were of moderate extent, and it had no effect on the perennial conflict between individual liberty and public power.

In the meantime, partly as the results of Indian fighting and the Mexican war, but chiefly through purchases and arbitrations, the American people had acquired a territory so extensive, so defended by oceans, gulfs, and great lakes, and so intersected by those great natural highways, navigable rivers, that it would obviously be impossible for any enemy to overrun or subdue it. The civilized nations of Europe, western Asia, and northern Africa have always been liable to hostile incursions from without. Over and over again barbarous hordes have overthrown established civilizations; and at this moment there is not a nation of Europe which does not feel obliged to maintain monstrous armaments for defense against its neighbors. The American people have long been exempt from such terrors, and are now absolutely free from this necessity of keeping in readiness to meet heavy assaults. The absence of a great standing army and of a large fleet has been a main characteristic of the United States, in contrast with the other civilized nations;

this has been a great inducement to immigration, and a prime cause of the country's rapid increase in wealth. The United States have no formidable neighbor, except Great Britain in Canada. In April, 1817, by a convention made between Great Britain and the United States, without much public discussion or observation, these two powerful nations agreed that each should keep on the Great Lakes only a few police vessels of insignificant size and armament. This agreement was made but four years after Perry's naval victory on Lake Erie, and only three years after the burning of Washington by a British force. It was one of the first acts of Monroe's first administration, and it would be difficult to find in all history a more judicious or effectual agreement between two powerful neighbors. For eighty years this beneficent convention has helped to keep the peace. The European way would have been to build competitive fleets, dockyards, and fortresses, all of which would have helped to bring on war during the periods of mutual exasperation which have occurred since 1817. Monroe's second administration was signalized, six years later, by the declaration that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of the Holy Alliance to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. This announcement was designed to prevent the introduction on the American continent of the horrible European system—with its balance of power, its alliances offensive and defensive in opposing groups, and its perpetual armaments on an enormous scale. That

a declaration expressly intended to promote peace and prevent armaments should now be perverted into an argument for arming and for a belligerent public policy is an extraordinary perversion of the true American doctrine.

The ordinary causes of war between nation and nation have been lacking in America for the last century and a quarter. How many wars in the world's history have been due to contending dynasties; how many of the most cruel and protracted wars have been due to religious strife; how many to race hatred! No one of these causes of war has been efficacious in America since the French were overcome in Canada by the English in 1759. Looking forward into the future, we find it impossible to imagine circumstances under which any of these common causes of war can take effect on the North American continent. Therefore, the ordinary motives for maintaining armaments in time of peace, and concentrating the powers of government in such a way as to interfere with individual liberty, have not been in play in the United States as among the nations of Europe, and are not likely to be.

Such have been the favorable conditions under which America has made its best contribution to the progress of our race.

There are some people of a perverted sentimentality who occasionally lament the absence in our country of the ordinary inducements to war, on the ground that war develops certain noble qualities in some of the combatants, and gives opportunity for the practice of heroic virtues, such as courage, loyalty, and self-sacrifice. It is further

said that prolonged peace makes nations effeminate, luxurious, and materialistic, and substitutes for the high ideals of the patriot soldier the low ideals of the farmer, manufacturer, tradesman, and pleasure-seeker. This view seems to me to err in two opposite ways. In the first place, it forgets that war, in spite of the fact that it develops some splendid virtues, is the most horrible occupation that human beings can possibly engage in. It is cruel, treacherous, and murderous. Defensive warfare, particularly on the part of a weak nation against powerful invaders or oppressors, excites a generous sympathy; but for every heroic defense there must be an attack by a preponderating force, and war, being the conflict of the two, must be judged by its moral effects not on one party, but on both parties. Moreover, the weaker party may have the worse cause. The immediate ill effects of war are bad enough, but its after effects are generally worse, because indefinitely prolonged and indefinitely wasting and damaging. At this moment, thirty-one years after the end of our civil war, there are two great evils afflicting our country which took their rise in that war, namely, (1) the belief of a large proportion of our people in money without intrinsic value, or worth less than its face, and made current solely by act of Congress, and (2) the payment of immense annual sums in pensions. It is the paper-money delusion born of the civil war which generated and supports the silver-money delusion of to-day. As a consequence of the war, the nation has paid $2,000,000,000 in pensions within thirty-three years. So far as pensions are

paid to disabled persons, they are a just and inevitable, but unproductive expenditure; so far as they are paid to persons who are not disabled,—men or women,—they are in the main not only unproductive but demoralizing; so far as they promote the marriage of young women to old men, as a pecuniary speculation, they create a grave social evil. It is impossible to compute or even imagine the losses and injuries already inflicted by the fiat-money delusion; and we know that some of the worst evils of the pension system will go on for a hundred years to come, unless the laws about widows' pensions are changed for the better. It is a significant fact that of the existing pensioners of the war of 1812 only twenty-one are surviving soldiers or sailors, while 3826 are widows.[1]

War gratifies, or used to gratify, the combative instinct of mankind, but it gratifies also the love of plunder, destruction, cruel discipline, and arbitrary power. It is doubtful whether fighting with modern appliances will continue to gratify the savage instinct of combat; for it is not likely that in the future two opposing lines of men can ever meet, or any line or column reach an enemy's intrenchments. The machine-gun can only be compared to the scythe, which cuts off every blade of grass within its sweep. It has made cavalry charges impossible, just as the modern ironclad has made impossible the manœuvers of one of Nelson's fleets. On land, the only mode of approach of one line to another must hereafter be by concealment, crawling, or surprise. Naval actions will henceforth be

[1] June 30, 1895.

conflicts between opposing machines, guided, to be sure, by men; but it will be the best machine that wins, and not necessarily the most enduring men. War will become a contest between treasuries or war-chests; for now that 10,000 men can fire away a million dollars' worth of ammunition in an hour, no poor nation can long resist a rich one, unless there be some extraordinary difference between the two in mental and moral strength.

The view that war is desirable omits also the consideration that modern social and industrial life affords ample opportunities for the courageous and loyal discharge of duty, apart from the barbarities of warfare. There are many serviceable occupations in civil life which call for all the courage and fidelity of the best soldier, and for more than his independent responsibility, because not pursued in masses or under the immediate command of superiors. Such occupations are those of the locomotive engineer, the electric lineman, the railroad brakeman, the city fireman, and the policeman. The occupation of the locomotive engineer requires constantly a high degree of skill, alertness, fidelity, and resolution, and at any moment may call for heroic self-forgetfulness. The occupation of a lineman requires all the courage and endurance of a soldier, whose lurking foe is mysterious and invisible. In the two years, 1893 and 1894, there were 34,000 trainmen killed and wounded on the railroads of the United States, and 25,000 other railroad employés besides. I need not enlarge on the dangers of the fireman's occupation, or on the disciplined gallantry with which its risks are habitu-

ally incurred. The policeman in large cities needs every virtue of the best soldier, for in the discharge of many of his most important duties he is alone. Even the feminine occupation of the trained nurse illustrates every heroic quality which can possibly be exhibited in war; for she, simply in the way of duty, without the stimulus of excitement or companionship, runs risks from which many a soldier in hot blood would shrink. No one need be anxious about the lack of opportunities in civilized life for the display of heroic qualities. New industries demand new forms of fidelity and self-sacrificing devotion. Every generation develops some new kind of hero. Did it ever occur to you that the "scab" is a creditable type of nineteenth century hero? In defense of his rights as an individual, he deliberately incurs the reprobation of many of his fellows, and runs the immediate risk of bodily injury, or even of death. He also risks his livelihood for the future, and thereby the well-being of his family. He steadily asserts in action his right to work on such conditions as he sees fit to make, and, in so doing, he exhibits remarkable courage, and renders a great service to his fellow-men. He is generally a quiet, unpretending, silent person, who values his personal freedom more than the society and approbation of his mates. Often he is impelled to work by family affection, but this fact does not diminish his heroism. There are file-closers behind the line of battle of the bravest regiment. Another modern personage who needs heroic endurance, and often exhibits it, is the public servant who steadily does his duty against the

outcry of a party press bent on perverting his every word and act. Through the telegram, cheap postage, and the daily newspaper, the forces of hasty public opinion can now be concentrated and expressed with a rapidity and intensity unknown to preceding generations. In consequence, the independent thinker or actor, or the public servant, when his thoughts or acts run counter to prevailing popular or party opinions, encounters sudden and intense obloquy, which, to many temperaments, is very formidable. That habit of submitting to the opinion of the majority which democracy fosters renders the storm of detraction and calumny all the more difficult to endure—makes it, indeed, so intolerable to many citizens, that they will conceal or modify their opinions rather than endure it. Yet the very breath of life for a democracy is free discussion, and the taking account, of all opinions honestly held and reasonably expressed. The unreality of the vilification of public men in the modern press is often revealed by the sudden change when an eminent public servant retires or dies. A man for whom no words of derision or condemnation were strong enough yesterday is recognized to-morrow as an honorable and serviceable person, and a credit to his country. Nevertheless, this habit of partisan ridicule and denunciation in the daily reading-matter of millions of people calls for a new kind of courage and toughness in public men, and calls for it, not in brief moments of excitement only, but steadily, year in and year out. Clearly, there is no need of bringing on wars in order to breed heroes. Civilized life affords plenty

of opportunities for heroes, and for a better kind than war or any other savagery has ever produced. Moreover, none but lunatics would set a city on fire in order to give opportunities for heroism to firemen, or introduce the cholera or yellow fever to give physicians and nurses opportunity for practising disinterested devotion, or condemn thousands of people to extreme poverty in order that some well-to-do persons might practise a beautiful charity. It is equally crazy to advocate war on the ground that it is a school for heroes.

Another misleading argument for war needs brief notice. It is said that war is a school of national development—that a nation, when conducting a great war, puts forth prodigious exertions to raise money, supply munitions, enlist troops, and keep them in the field, and often gets a clearer conception and a better control of its own material and moral forces while making these unusual exertions. The nation which means to live in peace necessarily foregoes, it is said, these valuable opportunities of abnormal activity. Naturally, such a nation's abnormal activities devoted to destruction would be diminished; but its normal and abnormal activities devoted to construction and improvement ought to increase.

One great reason for the rapid development of the United States since the adoption of the Constitution is the comparative exemption of the whole people from war, dread of war, and preparations for war. The energies of the people have been directed into other channels. The progress of applied science during the present century, and the

new ideals concerning the well-being of human multitudes, have opened great fields for the useful application of national energy. This immense territory of ours, stretching from ocean to ocean, and for the most part but imperfectly developed and sparsely settled, affords a broad field for the beneficent application of the richest national forces during an indefinite period. There is no department of national activity in which we could not advantageously put forth much more force than we now expend; and there are great fields which we have never cultivated at all. As examples, I may mention the post-office, national sanitation, public works, and education. Although great improvements have been made during the past fifty years in the collection and delivery of mail matter, much still remains to be done both in city and country, and particularly in the country. In the mail facilities secured to our people, we are far behind several European governments, whereas we ought to be far in advance of every European government except Switzerland, since the rapid interchange of ideas, and the promotion of family, friendly, and commercial intercourse, are of more importance to a democracy than to any other form of political society. Our national government takes very little pains about the sanitation of the country, or its deliverance from injurious insects and parasites; yet these are matters of gravest interest, with which only the general government can deal, because action by separate States or cities is necessarily ineffectual. To fight pestilences needs quite as much energy, skill, and courage as to carry on

war; indeed, the foes are more insidious and awful, and the means of resistance less obvious. On the average and the large scale, the professions which heal and prevent disease, and mitigate suffering, call for much more ability, constancy, and devotion than the professions which inflict wounds and death and all sorts of human misery. Our government has never touched the important subject of national roads, by which I mean not railroads, but common highways; yet here is a great subject for beneficent action through government, in which we need only go for our lessons to little republican Switzerland. Inundations and droughts are great enemies of the human race, against which government ought to create defenses, because private enterprise cannot cope with such wide-spreading evils. Popular education is another great field in which public activity should be indefinitely enlarged, not so much through the action of the Federal government,—though even there a much more effective supervision should be provided than now exists,—but through the action of States, cities, and towns. We have hardly begun to apprehend the fundamental necessity and infinite value of public education, or to appreciate the immense advantages to be derived from additional expenditure for it. What prodigious possibilities of improvement are suggested by the single statement that the average annual expenditure for the schooling of a child in the United States is only about eighteen dollars! Here is a cause which requires from hundreds of thousands of men and women keen intelligence, hearty devotion to duty, and a steady uplifting and

advancement of all its standards and ideals. The system of public instruction should embody for coming generations all the virtues of the medieval church. It should stand for the brotherhood and unity of all classes and conditions; it should exalt the joys of the intellectual life above all material delights; and it should produce the best constituted and most wisely directed intellectual and moral host that the world has seen. In view of such unutilized opportunities as these for the beneficent application of great public forces, does it not seem monstrous that war should be advocated on the ground that it gives occasion for rallying and using the national energies?

The second eminent contribution which the United States have made to civilization is their thorough acceptance, in theory and practice, of the widest religious toleration. As a means of suppressing individual liberty, the collective authority of the Church, when elaborately organized in a hierarchy directed by one head and absolutely devoted in every rank to its service, comes next in proved efficiency to that concentration of powers in government which enables it to carry on war effectively. The Western Christian Church, organized under the Bishop of Rome, acquired, during the middle ages, a centralized authority which quite overrode both the temporal ruler and the rising spirit of nationality. For a time Christian Church and Christian State acted together, just as in Egypt, during many earlier centuries, the great powers of civil and religious rule had been united. The Crusades marked the climax of the power of

the Church. Thereafter, Church and State were often in conflict; and during this prolonged conflict the seeds of liberty were planted, took root, and made some sturdy growth. We can see now, as we look back on the history of Europe, how fortunate it was that the colonization of North America by Europeans was deferred until after the period of the Reformation, and especially until after the Elizabethan period in England, the Luther period in Germany, and the splendid struggle of the Dutch for liberty in Holland. The founders of New England and New York were men who had imbibed the principles of resistance both to arbitrary civil power and to universal ecclesiastical authority. Hence it came about that within the territory now covered by the United States no single ecclesiastical organization ever obtained a wide and oppressive control, and that in different parts of this great region churches very unlike in doctrine and organization were almost simultaneously established. It has been an inevitable consequence of this condition of things that the Church, as a whole, in the United States has not been an effective opponent of any form of human rights. For generations it has been divided into numerous sects and denominations, no one of which has been able to claim more than a tenth of the population as its adherents; and the practices of these numerous denominations have been profoundly modified by political theories and practices, and by social customs natural to new communities formed under the prevailing conditions of free intercourse and rapid growth. The constitutional prohibition of

religious tests as qualifications for office gave the United States the leadership among the nations in dissociating theological opinions and political rights. No one denomination or ecclesiastical organization in the United States has held great properties, or has had the means of conducting its ritual with costly pomp or its charitable works with imposing liberality. No splendid architectural exhibitions of Church power have interested or overawed the population. On the contrary, there has prevailed in general a great simplicity in public worship, until very recent years. Some splendors have been lately developed by religious bodies in the great cities; but these splendors and luxuries have been almost simultaneously exhibited by religious bodies of very different, not to say opposite, kinds. Thus, in New York city, the Jews, the Greek Church, the Catholics, and the Episcopalians have all erected, or undertaken to erect, magnificent edifices. But these recent demonstrations of wealth and zeal are so distributed among differing religious organizations that they cannot be imagined to indicate a coming centralization of ecclesiastical influence adverse to individual liberty.

In the United States, the great principle of religious toleration is better understood and more firmly established than in any other nation of the earth. It is not only embodied in legislation, but also completely recognized in the habits and customs of good society. Elsewhere it may be a long road from legal to social recognition of religious liberty, as the example of England shows. This recognition alone would mean, to any competent

student of history, that the United States had made an unexampled contribution to the reconciliation of just governmental power with just freedom for the individual, inasmuch as the partial establishment of religious toleration has been the main work of civilization during the past four centuries. In view of this characteristic and infinitely beneficent contribution to human happiness and progress, how pitiable seem the temporary outbursts of bigotry and fanaticism which have occasionally marred the fair record of our country in regard to religious toleration! If any one imagines that this American contribution to civilization is no longer important,—that the victory for toleration has been already won,—let him recall the fact that the last years of the nineteenth century have witnessed two horrible religious persecutions, one by a Christian nation, the other by a Moslem—one, of the Jews by Russia, and the other, of the Armenians by Turkey.

The third characteristic contribution which the United States have made to civilization has been the safe development of a manhood suffrage nearly universal. The experience of the United States has brought out several principles with regard to the suffrage which have not been clearly apprehended by some eminent political philosophers. In the first place, American experience has demonstrated the advantages of a gradual approach to universal suffrage, over a sudden leap. Universal suffrage is not the first and only means of attaining democratic government; rather, it is the ultimate goal of successful democracy. It is not a specific for the cure of all political ills; on the con-

trary, it may itself easily be the source of great political evils. The people of the United States feel its dangers to-day. When constituencies are large, it aggravates the well-known difficulties of party government; so that many of the ills which threaten democratic communities at this moment, whether in Europe or America, proceed from the breakdown of party government rather than from failures of universal suffrage. The methods of party government were elaborated where suffrage was limited and constituencies were small. Manhood suffrage has not worked perfectly well in the United States, or in any other nation where it has been adopted, and it is not likely very soon to work perfectly anywhere. It is like freedom of the will for the individual—the only atmosphere in which virtue can grow, but an atmosphere in which sin can also grow. Like freedom of the will, it needs to be surrounded with checks and safeguards, particularly in the childhood of the nation; but, like freedom of the will, it is the supreme good, the goal of perfected democracy. Secondly, like freedom of the will, universal suffrage has an educational effect, which has been mentioned by many writers, but has seldom been clearly apprehended or adequately described. This educational effect is produced in two ways: In the first place, the combination of individual freedom with social mobility, which a wide suffrage tends to produce, permits the capable to rise through all grades of society, even within a single generation; and this freedom to rise is intensely stimulating to personal ambition. Thus every capable American, from youth to age, is bent

on bettering himself and his condition. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the mental condition of an average American belonging to the laborious classes, but conscious that he can rise to the top of the social scale, and that of a European mechanic, peasant, or tradesman, who knows that he cannot rise out of his class, and is content with his hereditary classification. The state of mind of the American prompts to constant struggle for self-improvement and the acquisition of all sorts of property and power. In the second place, it is a direct effect of a broad suffrage that the voters become periodically interested in the discussion of grave public problems, which carry their minds away from the routine of their daily labor and household experience out into larger fields. The instrumentalities of this prolonged education have been multiplied and improved enormously within the last fifty years. In no field of human endeavor have the fruits of the introduction of steam and electrical power been more striking than in the methods of reaching multitudes of people with instructive narratives, expositions, and arguments. The multiplication of newspapers, magazines, and books is only one of the immense developments in the means of reaching the people. The advocates of any public cause now have it in their power to provide hundreds of newspapers with the same copy, or the same plates, for simultaneous issue. The mails provide the means of circulating millions of leaflets and pamphlets. The interest in the minds of the people which prompts to the reading of these multiplied communications

comes from the frequently recurring elections. The more difficult the intellectual problem presented in any given election, the more educative the effect of the discussion. Many modern industrial and financial problems are extremely difficult, even for highly-educated men. As subjects of earnest thought and discussion on the farm, and in the work-shop, factory, rolling-mill, and mine, they supply a mental training for millions of adults, the like of which has never before been seen in the world.

In these discussions, it is not only the receptive masses that are benefited; the classes that supply the appeals to the masses are also benefited in a high degree. There is no better mental exercise for the most highly trained man than the effort to expound a difficult subject in so clear a way that the untrained man can understand it. In a republic in which the final appeal is to manhood suffrage, the educated minority of the people is constantly stimulated to exertion, by the instinct of self-preservation as well as by love of country. They see dangers in proposals made to universal suffrage, and they must exert themselves to ward off those dangers. The position of the educated and well-to-do classes is a thoroughly wholesome one in this respect: they cannot depend for the preservation of their advantages on land-owning, hereditary privilege, or any legislation not equally applicable to the poorest and humblest citizen. They must maintain their superiority by being superior. They cannot live in a too safe corner.

I touch here on a misconception which underlies

much of the criticism of universal suffrage. It is commonly said that the rule of the majority must be the rule of the most ignorant and incapable, the multitude being necessarily uninstructed as to taxation, public finance, and foreign relations, and untrained to active thought on such difficult subjects. Now, universal suffrage is merely a convention as to where the last appeal shall lie for the decision of public questions; and it is the rule of the majority only in this sense. The educated classes are undoubtedly a minority; but it is not safe to assume that they monopolize the good sense of the community. On the contrary, it is very clear that native good judgment and good feeling are not proportional to education, and that among a multitude of men who have only an elementary education, a large proportion will possess both good judgment and good feeling. Indeed, persons who can neither read nor write may possess a large share of both, as is constantly seen in regions where the opportunities for education in childhood have been scanty or inaccessible. It is not to be supposed that the cultivated classes, under a régime of universal suffrage, are not going to try to make their cultivation felt in the discussion and disposal of public questions. Any result under universal suffrage is a complex effect of the discussion of the public question in hand by the educated classes in the presence of the comparatively uneducated, when a majority of both classes taken together is ultimately to settle the question. In practice, both classes divide on almost every issue. But, in any case, if the educated classes cannot hold their own with the uneducated,

by means of their superior physical, mental, and moral qualities, they are obviously unfit to lead society. With education should come better powers of argument and persuasion, a stricter sense of honor, and a greater general effectiveness. With these advantages, the educated classes must undoubtedly appeal to the less educated, and try to convert them to their way of thinking; but this is a process which is good for both sets of people. Indeed, it is the best possible process for the training of freemen, educated or uneducated, rich or poor.

It is often assumed that the educated classes become impotent in a democracy, because the representatives of those classes are not exclusively chosen to public office. This argument is a very fallacious one. It assumes that the public offices are the places of greatest influence; whereas, in the United States, at least, that is conspicuously not the case. In a democracy, it is important to discriminate influence from authority. Rulers and magistrates may or may not be persons of influence; but many persons of influence never become rulers, magistrates, or representatives in parliaments or legislatures. The complex industries of a modern state, and its innumerable corporation services, offer great fields for administrative talent which were entirely unknown to preceding generations; and these new activities attract many ambitious and capable men more strongly than the public service. These men are not on that account lost to their country or to society. The present generation has wholly escaped from the conditions of earlier centuries, when able men who were not great land-

owners had but three outlets for their ambition —the army, the church, or the national civil service. The national service, whether in an empire, a limited monarchy, or a republic, is now only one of many fields which offer to able and patriotic men an honorable and successful career. Indeed, legislation and public administration necessarily have a very second-hand quality; and more and more legislators and administrators become dependent on the researches of scholars, men of science, and historians, and follow in the footsteps of inventors, economists, and political philosophers. Political leaders are very seldom leaders of thought; they are generally trying to induce masses of men to act on principles thought out long before. Their skill is in the selection of practicable approximations to the ideal; their arts are arts of exposition and persuasion; their honor comes from fidelity under trying circumstances to familiar principles of public duty. The real leaders of American thought in this century have been preachers, teachers, jurists, seers, and poets. While it is of the highest importance, under any form of government, that the public servants should be men of intelligence, education, and honor, it is no objection to any given form, that under it large numbers of educated and honorable citizens have no connection with the public service.

Well-to-do Europeans, when reasoning about the working of democracy, often assume that under any government the property-holders are synonymous with the intelligent and educated class. That is not the case in the American democracy. Any one who has been connected with a large American

university can testify that democratic institutions produce plenty of rich people who are not educated and plenty of educated people who are not rich, just as medieval society produced illiterate nobles and cultivated monks.

Persons who object to manhood suffrage as the last resort for the settlement of public questions are bound to show where, in all the world, a juster or more practicable regulation or convention has been arrived at. The objectors ought at least to indicate where the ultimate decision should, in their judgment, rest—as, for example, with the landowners, or the property-holders, or the graduates of secondary schools, or the professional classes. He would be a bold political philosopher who, in these days, should propose that the ultimate tribunal should be constituted in any of these ways. All the experience of the civilized world fails to indicate a safe personage, a safe class, or a safe minority, with which to deposit this power of ultimate decision. On the contrary, the experience of civilization indicates that no select person or class can be trusted with that power, no matter what the principle of selection. The convention that the majority of males shall decide public questions has obviously great recommendations. It is apparently fairer than the rule of any minority, and it is sure to be supported by an adequate physical force. Moreover, its decisions are likely to enforce themselves. Even in matters of doubtful prognostication, the fact that a majority of the males do the prophesying tends to the fulfilment of the prophecy. At any rate, the adoption or partial adoption of

universal male suffrage by several civilized nations is coincident with unexampled ameliorations in the condition of the least fortunate and most numerous classes of the population. To this general amelioration many causes have doubtless contributed; but it is reasonable to suppose that the acquisition of the power which comes with votes has had something to do with it.

Timid or conservative people often stand aghast at the possible directions of democratic desire, or at some of the predicted results of democratic rule; but meantime the actual experience of the American democracy proves: 1, that property has never been safer under any form of government; 2, that no people have ever welcomed so ardently new machinery, and new inventions generally; 3, that religious toleration was never carried so far, and never so universally accepted; 4, that nowhere have the power and disposition to read been so general; 5, that nowhere has governmental power been more adequate, or more freely exercised, to levy and collect taxes, to raise armies and to disband them, to maintain public order, and to pay off great public debts—national, State, and town; 6, that nowhere have property and well-being been so widely diffused; and 7, that no form of government ever inspired greater affection and loyalty, or prompted to greater personal sacrifices in supreme moments. In view of these solid facts, speculations as to what universal suffrage would have done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or may do in the twentieth, seem futile indeed. The most civilized nations of the world have all either

adopted this final appeal to manhood suffrage, or they are approaching that adoption by rapid stages. The United States, having no customs or traditions of an opposite sort to overcome, have led the nations in this direction, and have had the honor of devising, as a result of practical experience, the best safeguards for universal suffrage, safeguards which, in the main, are intended to prevent hasty public action, or action based on sudden discontents or temporary spasms of public feeling. These checks are intended to give time for discussion and deliberation, or, in other words, to secure the enlightenment of the voters before the vote. If, under new conditions, existing safeguards prove insufficient, the only wise course is to devise new safeguards.

The United States have made to civilization a fourth contribution of a very hopeful sort, to which public attention needs to be directed, lest temporary evils connected therewith should prevent the continuation of this beneficent action. The United States have furnished a demonstration that people belonging to a great variety of races or nations are, under favorable circumstances, fit for political freedom. It is the fashion to attribute to the enormous immigration of the last fifty years some of the failures of the American political system, and particularly the American failure in municipal government, and the introduction in a few States of the rule of the irresponsible party foremen known as "bosses." Impatient of these evils, and hastily accepting this improbable explanation of them, some people wish to depart from the

American policy of welcoming immigrants. In two respects the absorption of large numbers of immigrants from many nations into the American commonwealth has been of great service to mankind. In the first place, it has demonstrated that people who at home have been subject to every sort of aristocratic or despotic or military oppression become within less than a generation serviceable citizens of a republic; and, in the second place, the United States have thus educated to freedom many millions of men. Furthermore, the comparatively high degree of happiness and prosperity enjoyed by the people of the United States has been brought home to multitudes in Europe by friends and relatives who have emigrated to this country, and has commended free institutions to them in the best possible way. This is a legitimate propaganda vastly more effective than any annexation or conquest of unwilling people, or of people unprepared for liberty.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the process of assimilating foreigners began in this century. The eighteenth century provided the colonies with a great mixture of peoples, although the English race predominated then, as now. When the Revolution broke out, there were already English, Irish, Scotch, Dutch, Germans, French, Portuguese, and Swedes in the colonies. The French were, to be sure, in small proportion, and were almost exclusively Huguenot refugees, but they were a valuable element in the population. The Germans were well diffused, having established themselves in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Georgia. The

Scotch were scattered through all the colonies. Pennsylvania, especially, was inhabited by an extraordinary mixture of nationalities and religions. Since steam-navigation on the Atlantic and railroad transportation on the North American continent became cheap and easy, the tide of immigration has greatly increased; but it is very doubtful if the amount of assimilation going on in the nineteenth century has been any larger, in proportion to the population and wealth of the country, than it was in the eighteenth. The main difference in the assimilation going on in the two centuries is this, that in the eighteenth century the newcomers were almost all Protestants, while in the nineteenth century a considerable proportion have been Catholics. One result, however, of the importation of large numbers of Catholics into the United States has been a profound modification of the Roman Catholic Church in regard to the manners and customs of both the clergy and the laity, the scope of the authority of the priest, and the attitude of the Catholic Church toward public education. This American modification of the Roman Church has reacted strongly on the Church in Europe.

Another great contribution to civilization made by the United States is the diffusion of material well-being among the population. No country in the world approaches the United States in this respect. It is seen in that diffused elementary education which implants for life a habit of reading, and in the habitual optimism which characterizes the common people. It is seen in the housing of the people and of their domestic animals, in the

comparative costliness of their food, clothing, and household furniture, in their implements, vehicles, and means of transportation, and in the substitution, on a prodigious scale, of the work of machinery for the work of men's hands. This last item in American well-being is quite as striking in agriculture, mining, and fishing, as it is in manufactures. The social effects of the manufacture of power, and of the discovery of means of putting that power just where it is wanted, have been more striking in the United States than anywhere else. Manufactured and distributed power needs intelligence to direct it: the bicycle is a blind horse, and must be steered at every instant; somebody must show a steam-drill where to strike and how deep to go. So far as men and women can substitute for the direct expenditure of muscular strength the more intelligent effort of designing, tending, and guiding machines, they win promotion in the scale of being, and make their lives more interesting as well as more productive. It is in the invention of machinery for producing and distributing power, and at once economizing and elevating human labor, that American ingenuity has been most conspicuously manifested. The high price of labor in a sparsely-settled country has had something to do with this striking result; but the genius of the people and of their government has had much more to do with it. As proof of the general proposition, it suffices merely to mention the telegraph and telephone, the sewing-machine, the cotton-gin, the mower, the reaper, and threshing-machine, the dish-washing machine, the river steam-

boat, the sleeping-car, the boot and shoe machinery, and the watch machinery. The ultimate effects of these and kindred inventions are quite as much intellectual as physical, and they are developing and increasing with a portentous rapidity which sometimes suggests a doubt whether the bodily forces of men and women are adequate to resist the new mental strains brought upon them. However this may prove to be in the future, the clear result in the present is an unexampled diffusion of well-being in the United States.

These five contributions to civilization—peace-keeping, religious toleration, the development of manhood suffrage, the welcoming of newcomers, and the diffusion of well-being—I hold to have been eminently characteristic of our country, and so important that, in spite of the qualifications and deductions which every candid citizen would admit with regard to every one of them, they will ever be held in the grateful remembrance of mankind. They are reasonable grounds for a steady, glowing patriotism. They have had much to do, both as causes and as effects, with the material prosperity of the United States; but they are all five essentially moral contributions, being triumphs of reason, enterprise, courage, faith, and justice, over passion, selfishness, inertness, timidity, and distrust. Beneath each one of these developments there lies a strong ethical sentiment, a strenuous moral and social purpose. It is for such work that multitudinous democracies are fit.

In regard to all five of these contributions, the characteristic policy of our country has been from

time to time threatened with reversal—is even now so threatened. It is for true patriots to insist on the maintenance of these historic purposes and policies of the people of the United States. Our country's future perils, whether already visible or still unimagined, are to be met with courage and constancy founded firmly on these popular achievements in the past.

1896

EQUALITY IN A REPUBLIC

MANY people are much disappointed because it has turned out that our free institutions do not produce equality of condition among the citizens. The motto of the French Revolution was, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"; and it was expected of the American republic that it would prevent the existence of great distinctions in regard to wealth between its citizens, and tend decidedly toward equal conditions for all. An experience of a little over one hundred years has demonstrated that republican institutions do not prevent the existence, on the one hand of a very rich class, and on the other of a very poor class; and that between these two extremes every possible variety of condition may exist. In some respects free institutions do certainly tend to equality. Thus, they make all citizens equal as regards the suffrage, the security of life and property, and the duty of obedience to the laws; they abolish hereditary privileges, such as titles, transmissible offices, monopolies, or sinecures; but they do not interfere with the accumulation of property, or with the transmission from generation to generation of property and of all that property can procure for its owner.

Looking back on this experience, it seems as if

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any one might have known from the beginning that a legal state of secure individual liberty could not but produce in the long run great inequalities of condition. The state of society at large under freedom is perfectly illustrated by the condition of things in a university, where the choice of studies is free, and every student is protected and encouraged in developing to the utmost his own gifts and powers. In Harvard University, for example, thousands of students enjoy an almost complete liberty in the selection of their studies, each man being encouraged to select those subjects in which he most easily excels, and consequently finds most enjoyment and most profit. The result is that no two students in the University are pursuing the same subjects with the same success—that is, attaining the same intellectual results in the same time. If a student at the beginning of his course has some advantage over his fellows in the study of Latin or chemistry, at the end of four years his advantage will have been greatly increased by the elaborate training in Latin or chemistry which he has procured. The difference between him and his associates in his acquired knowledge of Latin or chemistry will have become greater and greater, and his superior capacity for acquiring a still further knowledge of the subject will be much more marked at the end of the course than it was at the beginning. As one thousand students that entered together advance through the college, they become more and more unlike in their capacities and attainments, the difference in capacity being much more important than the difference in attainment.

This is the inevitable result of the policy of freedom of studies. Under any policy—the most repressive conceivable—it would be impossible to keep the students alike in attainments and capacities during four years, even if they were alike at the start. The only means of turning them out at the end of a four years' course in a tolerably even condition would be to prescribe rigidly the same group of subjects for every student, and to repress in every way possible the unusual gifts of the superior students, while stimulating to the utmost the slow wits of the dullards and sluggards—that is, a despotic government would be required to produce by artificial restrictions some approach to equality of mental condition at graduation.

In American public schools,—in which far too many pupils are placed before one teacher, and a strict grading system is employed as a means of helping her to perform her impossible task,—we have an illustration of the attempt to produce from many hundreds, or even thousands, of children an approximately uniform product representing an average of the bright and the dull. This method does not succeed in producing mental uniformity; and, though it fails to average the children, the attempt is the greatest evil in American public schools. The manual-training schools, which have come into existence in many communities within the last fifteen years, afford a valuable illustration of the inevitable diversity of mental product even under a discipline intended to be uniform. In such training of the eye and hand as lessons in carpentry, forging, drawing, molding,

and turning afford, it proves impossible to keep the different members of a class together in simultaneous exercises. The members of a class started on the same day in forging, for example, soon get separated, simply because one boy can do a great deal more work and better work than another. Some boys are slow to attain any excellence at all in work of eye and hand, while others take naturally to fine handiwork. In every trade the same irrepressible differences between workmen constantly appear. They are differences in physical organization, and also in disposition and will-power; and they last through life, and indeed go on increasing from youth to age. No restrictions have yet been devised which abolish these differences. It may be agreed by workmen in the same trade that a uniform number of hours shall constitute a day's work, and uniform pay be given for that uniform day's work. It may be agreed that no mason shall lay more than a specified number of bricks in a day, or that no compositor shall set more than a specified number of ems in a day; and yet, in spite of these sacrifices of individual liberty, the differences between workmen will remain; and it will be found that employers exhibit decided preferences in selecting hands, so that this man will always have work and that man will seldom have it. In short, the only way to bring about uniform earning-power is to establish some kind of despotism, or some system of voluntarily assumed restrictions on individual liberty. Under an absolute despotism, such as that of the Sultan of Morocco or the Khalifa of the Sudan, under which all property is

held only at the will of the ruler, and every distinction or public station proceeds solely from him, and may be at any moment withdrawn by him, a kind of equality may exist among all the subjects of the despot. There is no freedom to rise, and the man who has been lifted up may at any moment be cast down to the lowest social stage. In dependence on the will of the despot great inequalities of condition may temporarily exist; but they have no security or permanence. Before the one tyrant all subjects are in some sense equal, even military rank being held only at the will of the despot. The subjects of such a government are not free to exercise their different individual capacities, and there results a low, though level, social state.

These familiar illustrations prepare us to accept the proposition that public freedom must result in inequalities of condition among the citizens; and indeed that is just what has happened in our republic. If all the property in the United States should be evenly distributed among all the citizens to-morrow, on the day after to-morrow inequality of condition would again be established, because all men would be legally free to put into play, in security, their very different gifts and powers for the acquisition and accumulation of property.

But some one may say: Granted that in any one generation the powers of acquisition of the different citizens must be very unequal, and that hence great differences of property must arise, might not these differences, which really depend on the liberty and security which free institutions provide,

be made non-transmissible, so that each new generation should be obliged to begin over again the differentiating process? There are two answers to this question. In the first place, the distribution by the state of possessions accumulated by one citizen, among other citizens who had no obvious part in earning them, could not be effected without pauperizing the recipients of the unearned bounty; and secondly, all social experience teaches that the family motive gives the strongest impulsion toward industry, frugality, and disinterestedness. It is ultimately for the family that most men and women struggle and labor all their lives. It is on the family, and not on the individual that states are built. It is the family virtues which make commonwealths possible. The transmission of property, therefore, from father or mother to children has always been safeguarded in every civilized community. It is a right quite as precious to the man of small property as to the man of large property—indeed, more precious. It is a right which everybody is interested in who has any property at all, and any family at all; and though some modern states have ventured to prescribe in some respects how an owner shall distribute his estate among his heirs, no state has ever ventured to deny or abolish this right of distribution. It is one of the elements of our republican freedom in the United States that wills are subjected to much fewer restraints and limitations than they are in most European countries, and this freedom tends strongly to the distribution of properties at death.

We have seen during the last forty years in the

United States the development of a disposition among rich people to tie up their estates in trust, in order to hold the properties together for the common benefit of descendants, and to prevent their being wasted by youthful or unintelligent heirs.

Whether this process be socially mischievous, or not, has not yet been determined by experience. If it prove to be injurious, it can easily be checked by legislation. In the meantime, there are two methods in use for securing public benefits from great private properties. The first is the voluntary method of public benefaction which many rich Americans adopt; the second is the succession tax, which appropriates for the public benefit a percentage of all estates which rise above a very moderate limit—a percentage which is small on lineal inheritances and larger on collateral inheritances. Succession taxes are on the whole far the most desirable form of taxation on personal property; for they have the advantage of being levied within a moderate number of years on all the personal property in the community.

It being thus clear that individual liberty in a free state must lead to inequality of possessions, it remains to ask: Is this condition of things to be regretted? Is it desirable that conditions as regards property should be equal? All the analogies of nature and all human experience seem to me to indicate that a society in which there were no varieties of condition would be unnatural, monotonous, stupid, and unprogressive. Civilization means infinite differentiation under liberty. An interesting

human society must include individuals of very various gifts and powers. If all women were equally beautiful, the race would hardly know what beauty was. If no man could be more judicious, inventive, or far-seeing than another, progress would be impossible. Society would be as dull as a prairie or an ocean would be, if it were left without the atmospheric changes which give variety to such monotonous plains.

Let us then distinctly abandon equality of possessions as one of the objects which republican institutions aim at, and let us substitute for this foreign conception the object expressed in the word unity. Social unity is consistent with great social diversities. "There are diversities of gifts; but the same spirit." Let us substitute for the French motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," an Anglo-Saxon motto—"Freedom, Unity, Brotherhood." Those three ideas go well together, and express a lofty and practical social aim. The fate of free institutions is not to be settled on any issue of poverty or wealth. It is their effect on public health—physical and moral—which is to determine their destiny. Republicans may be either rich or poor, with safety to the State; but they cannot be corrupt in body or soul without bringing the republic to its fall.

1896

CITY GOVERNMENT BY FEWER MEN

The Superiority of a Small Commission over the Antiquated System of Mayor and Councilmen

MUNICIPAL government in the United States has nowhere been successful, and in many places it has been so corrupt and inefficient as to suggest to anxious minds the ultimate failure of free institutions. Yet municipal government comes nearer to the individual citizen than any other sort of government. If the municipal business is well done, it promotes the comfort and dignity of his own life and that of his family. If it is ill done, it stains and degrades his whole existence. The mere sight of municipal work done dishonestly, or merely shiftlessly, is extremely demoralizing for all citizens. Their own standards of work may easily be affected by the standards of municipal work; and any dishonesty or lack of fidelity in municipal servants is sure to rob the mass of citizens of securities, comforts, or facilities which they need, and have paid for directly or indirectly. Moreover, corruption and fraud in municipal administration tend to penetrate the larger administrations of the state and the nation. Let us first examine some of the sources of municipal failure in the United States.

In the first place, the structure of the city gov-

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ernment in this country was a most unfortunate one. It was copied early in the nineteenth century from the structure of the national government, and therefore had its upper house—the aldermen, its lower house—the common council, and its executive—the mayor. Now, city business is almost wholly administrative or executive, and is very little concerned with large policies or far-reaching legislation. There is no occasion for two legislative bodies, or even one, in the government of a city. Modern cities have to provide and maintain schools, roads and bridges, sewers, a water supply, a fire department, courts, police, and street lights, and to take care of the numerous helpless and defective members of the community. On all these subjects there is no doubt whatever as to what the people need, and the proper supply of their needs is a matter of purely administrative business. There is no question of general policy to be advanced by public discussion, as in state legislatures or Congress. Now and then a question arises which the will of the whole people properly expressed may best settle; but for the prompt and conclusive expression of that will the initiative and the referendum—now well-recognized means of popular action—are greatly superior to any means of expressing public opinion which a board of aldermen and a common council can possibly afford. It should be remembered also that there is not a single item of municipal work which is now done, or can be done, in the way in which the corresponding piece of work—if there was any—was done when the ordinary form of the American city government was adopted. The conditions under

which municipal business is now conducted are so different from those which existed when the American form of city government was set up, that one might reasonably expect a form not wholly impracticable sixty years or eighty years ago to have become absolutely unsuitable, or even impossible, to-day.

In the next place, there is no branch or department of city business to-day which can be properly carried on except by experts. In all departments, amateur executive agents are completely out of place, and are sure to be sources of inefficiency, if not of corruption. This, indeed, is one of the main sources of municipal failure in the United States. Nothing can be plainer than the general proposition that lawyers, engineers, electricians, teachers, architects, physicians, and similar experts are the only competent persons to really do the work of cities. Such trained persons must be employed continuously and on long tenures of office in the service of a city, or its work will not be properly done. The only question is how best to provide a suitable, central board to select and employ the needed experts. The justice of this proposition may be established from the experience of all the existing organizations for business purposes, such as railroads, mills, mines, factories, banks, and steamship companies. The administrative work of all such organizations is done by experts selected, employed, and directed by a small administrative board, or even by a single official. The method used by these corporations is the only method for a city, if its work is to be well done. Imagine the state of a

railroad or factory whose business was mainly directed by sub-committees of two large bodies and a president, annually elected by 50,000 shareholders. Yet city business is very like corporation business, except that it is not conducted for a profit.

THE CITY NO LONGER ISOLATED

UNDERLYING the provision of a board of aldermen and a common council for the American cities, was the idea of two sorts of representation of the will of the citizens—one by a small board elected at large, and the other locally elected from small districts. This conception of local representation has become entirely inapplicable in city populations. When the cities had no public water-supplies, any family might have a strong local interest in a particular well near their house; but now the interest of every family in regard to its water-supply is not at all within the limits of the city, but really in the pure condition of a water-shed twenty or forty miles away, quite outside of the geographical boundaries of the city. In the same way, before the modern modes of transportation came into existence, the citizen might be supposed to have a peculiar interest in the sidewalk and roadway in front of his house; but now he is much more nearly interested in the good condition and safe operation of the 200 miles of electric railway which maintains for him easy communication over a circle, the radius of which sweeps ten miles round his home. Again, the citizen's interest in roads and bridges used to be limited to the few highways over which wagons brought his

daily food and fuel from the immediately surrounding country; but now the citizen has a much more intense interest in the skilful operation of half a dozen transcontinental railroads, than he has in the local highways. His food and fuel, and the materials of his clothing and of his shelters come to him from afar on steel tracks or over the trackless ocean. In short, his real interests are, in the majority of cases, not at all local in the old sense, and with every decade they grow wider and wider. When the former local interests thus broadened, the old idea of local representation by wards or districts became absurd and, like all absurdities in government, whether survivals or novelties, bred mischiefs.

TAX-PAYERS SHOULD BE THE TAX-SPENDERS

In the New England town governments the entire adult male population exercised an active control over the amount of taxes to be raised, and the objects for which public money should be spent. Having determined these points, they left to a small board of Selectmen the entire administrative business of the town. This was the wisest and most successful mode of democratic government ever organized. Compare with it the condition of an urban population to-day in regard to the raising and expenditures of taxes. In the first place, in most American cities, the people who determine what the taxes shall be are not the main body of the voters—far from it; secondly, the body of taxpayers on property do not determine, as in the New England town,

how the money raised by taxation shall be spent; on the contrary, the number of resident individuals who pay taxes on property is almost always less than half the number of legal voters; so that the control of expenditures is in the hands of resident individuals who pay no taxes on property. In making this statement, non-resident taxpayers and corporations and firms which, as such, have no vote are of course excluded. Considering the importance which was attached 140 years ago to the doctrine, "No taxation without representation," it is a singular condition which confronts urban populations in the United States, a condition in which the taxpayers have been deprived of every adequate control over the expenditure of the taxes they have paid. Of course, this condition of things tends strongly to public extravagance, because the non-taxpaying voters believe that their interest lies in heavy public expenditures, since they like the fruits of expenditure and suppose themselves to make no direct contribution to the bearing of the public burdens. They will naturally elect agents of their own sort. This is the root of much municipal incompetency and wrong-doing.

Another very serious difficulty in municipal government is the inadequate size and irrational boundaries of the municipal unit for taxation. This difficulty has been obviated in some measure in some localities by the process of annexing large suburban areas to the city which is attracting a growing population. There still remain, however, many instances in which numerous separate municipalities occupy an area which ought to be unified for all

municipal purposes and for taxation. Thus, in Boston and the vicinity, the community has learnt that it is impossible to provide and carry on satisfactory water systems, sewer systems, and park systems through the independent action of thirty different municipal organizations within eleven miles of the State House; and accordingly separate metropolitan commissions have been organized for these purposes. The community has also learnt that it is impossible properly to regulate public-franchise corporations by separate municipal action, each municipality working only within certain narrow geographical boundaries which the corporations transcend. The state has therefore been called upon to provide such supervision. There are, however, other municipal departments in which the crying need of procuring unity of operation has not yet been recognized, as, for instance, in the fire departments, police departments, and schools. For each one of these departments a metropolitan administration is urgently needed, the present heterogeneous and dislocated administrations inevitably producing both waste and injustice. It is not too much to say that no just method of taxation can be devised to cover the three objects of expenditure just mentioned without enlarging the unit of territory for taxation. The consolidation of different municipalities will generally effect striking economies and also produce increased efficiency. Thus, when two contiguous municipalities maintain separate fire departments, and a fire occurs near the dividing line, it is not the dozen nearest engines which rush to that fire; the near-by engines of one municipality arrive

quickly, but the far-off engines of the same municipality, coming from a considerable distance, of course arrive late and leave without protection the distant regions where their houses are situated. Meantime, there were plenty of engines within easy reach just across the line of the second municipality. Wherever thousands of people keep their families in one municipality and do their business in another, it is impossible that the distribution of taxes should be even approximately equitable, or that the expenditures for schools in particular should be equitably divided between the business center and the residence quarter.

But it is in financing that the greatest losses and inconveniences occur. When a territory which should be under one control is divided between twenty or thirty city and town governments, the borrowing capacity of the different municipalities will show great variations, those with the smallest credit being unable to avail themselves of the superior credit of larger or richer neighbors. Under such circumstances, the prosperity and comfort of the entire region are diminished, because no intelligent plan can be made and carried out for either the construction or the maintenance of the highways, bridges, subways, and other public works which ought to serve in the most convenient way the whole community. Each petty municipality will make its plans and execute them without the least attention to the interests of the surrounding communities. That the area under one city government may reasonably be largely increased follows as a corollary from the improved means of transporta-

tion which have come into use within fifteen years. The telephone and telegraph also imply larger units of municipal administration because they permit wider dispersion of the population without any diminution of the facilities for intercourse.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM FAVORS CORRUPTION

One of the greatest evils connected with municipal government in the United States has been the corrupt dealings between the city governments and the corporations which wish to obtain valuable franchises for various semi-public purposes, such as transportation, lighting, and telephone and telegraph service. The corporation which wanted a franchise, limited or unlimited in time, for money-making purposes, was often prepared to pay the temporary incumbents of the city offices largely for votes to give the privileges which the corporations desired; and the fact that such opportunities to make money frequently presented themselves to aldermen and councilmen made places in the city government desirable for men who were ready to rob their constituents, and betray the interests of the city in these ways. A corruptible city government was the opportunity for the corporation which was willing to corrupt, and the existence of such relations made city politics selfish, dishonest, and degrading. The cure for this hideous evil must be a fundamental one, because the evil has two deep roots; on the side of the city, a bad form of government combined with an inadequate territorial unit; and on the side of the community, a lax morality as

regards the conduct of corporations. The substitution for the board of aldermen and the common council of a small board in which power and responsibility are concentrated would go far to remove from municipal administration the weak or vicious men who are capable of corruption; and the enlargement of the municipal area under one government would make that area coincide with the area desirable for the activities of the public franchise corporations. In other words, the small governing board of a great city having an area conterminous with the region desirable for the purposes of a well-organized electric railway corporation, or a gas and electric light company, or a telephone company, would be in position to exercise the needed control over these monopolies. At present such companies have often to deal with two, three, or thirty different municipalities in order to reach the area which it is for the common interest of the corporation and the community that they should serve. Since these companies are inevitably monopolies, they must be regulated by public authority. So far as their issues of stocks and bonds and the general rules under which they shall operate are concerned, the state may best supply the needed regulation, as Massachusetts has long done through the admirable railroad and gas commissions, but the other conditions under which they shall render their service, such as their use of the highways, subways, and conduits, the transfers on electric roads, and the amount of service to be rendered, may best be controlled by city authority. We see here again how the American cities have failed to keep up with the enormous

changes in the mode of life of urban communities which applied science has brought about during the last twenty years.

STATE SUPERVISION OF CITIES

All proposals for enlarging the units for taxation and municipal administration are invariably met by an outcry in favor of local self-government. Has not Boston a right to govern itself within its grotesque geographical boundaries? Has not New York City a right to govern itself, free from the interference of the rest of the state of New York? What business has any state with the administration of a great city within its borders? The right answer to these questions is that a great city is so far created and maintained by the country from which it draws its food, and to which it distributes all sorts of goods in return, that the tributary country ought to have a voice in its affairs. Thus, eastern Massachusetts, with the help of the New England sea-coast north of Boston and of the Canadian maritime provinces, created Boston and long maintained the city. Railroads have spread out in all directions except toward the east, and the tributary country which is also the area of Boston's distributing function has widened. Through all this larger region Boston exerts a strong influence, industrial, educational and political, and in return this whole area contributes incessantly to the life of Boston. Every great city makes a large part of the life of the state in which it is situated, and may therefore exert upon all the moral interests of the state

as well as its material interests an influence which may be either good or bad. In the quality of the government of the great city the whole state has in very truth a direct interest which can only be properly described as intense. This is particularly the case with regard to the city's management of those portions of its population which make money out of the gross vices. One might as well say that the rest of the body has no interest in the heart, and should have no control over the heart, as to say that a state should have no interest in or control over the management of the great city within its borders. The whole body needs a calm, steady, strong heart; but the heart can have none of these qualities unless it be fed, regulated, and controlled by all the rest of the body. City and country are in reality bound together by a complex network of channels through which flow the life blood of both. To think of the city as a detached entity living for itself alone, and therefore entitled to control its own affairs without interference from outside, is to be blind to the plainest facts of the case and to uphold a theory which can only be disastrous in practice. Just as the idea of local representation has become inapplicable in city populations, so the idea of local self-government without external interference has become inapplicable to cities, particularly when the territorial unit of the city is too small and has no natural boundaries. In every state of the Union there ought to be a state officer or board exercising over all the cities in the state some of the powers which in England are exercised by the Local Government Board. That Board

is a national authority which, among other functions and duties, controls the financial engagements and the expenditures of local bodies in two ways: (a) in most cases, before any local authority can borrow money, it must obtain the sanction of the Board; (b) the Board subjects the accounts of most local authorities to an independent and searching audit. This financial control, which is not yet thirty years old, has proved highly useful. Its legitimacy is unquestioned in England.

The causes of, or reasons for, municipal failure in the United States are then somewhat as follows: The original structure of the city government was ill-suited to the work to be done; and municipal work has so changed since the American city government was constructed that a form of government, originally founded on a false analogy, has become less and less adapted to present functions. Secondly, city business being now much more elaborate, extensive, and complicated than it was originally, inexperienced, frequently changing executive bodies, like sub-committees of city legislative bodies, have become worse than useless; because the real business can only be done by experts. Thirdly, the old idea of local representation and local government is inapplicable to modern cities. Fourthly, the city taxpayers have lost control over the expenditure of the tax money they have paid in. Fifthly, the unit of area for taxation is so defined geographically that a just system of taxation has in many cases become impossible, and great wastes in the various branches of the city administration are inevitable. Sixthly, the practices of corpora-

tions that need public franchises have been often corrupt. Finally, legislative remedies for these evils have been hindered by a false theory that a city ought to be an independent entity managing all its own affairs, and accepting neither aid nor control from the state.

The result of all these difficulties has been that the entire business of a great city is usually done in an unintelligent and inefficient way, and often in a dishonest way. Direct municipal stealing has been notorious, and indirect stealing still more frequent and mischievous. Some of the worst injuries to the community, however, have been the result rather of stupidity and incompetence on the part of the municipal authorities than of dishonesty. Schools have not been provided in sufficient number or in the right places; roads and bridges have been ill-planned, ill-paved, and badly maintained; water systems have been frequently polluted, and even left polluted for long periods, as at Pittsburg; the police department has sometimes been so corrupt and ill-disciplined as to become in parts of great cities the ally of vice, and the corruptor instead of the protector of society; pay-rolls have been padded; inspectors have been unfaithful; unreasonable wages have been paid for a bad day's work and exaggerated prices for street lamps and other city supplies; trades unions have been allowed to introduce their low standards of industry and good will, and with consummate selfishness to keep non-union laborers out of cities which were in utmost need of abundant labor; the term "city laborer" has become a discreditable title instead of a peculiarly honorable

one, as it should be, and valuable long-term franchises have been given to monopolistic corporations without adequate compensation to the city.

CITY GOVERNMENT BY COMMISSIONS

THESE evils have within recent years become so deplorable that many efforts have been made in a partial and detached way to remedy them. One tolerably successful method has been to take out of the hands of city governments large portions of their work, and assign them to state-appointed commissions. Thus, in Boston, all the park work is in the hands of two commissions—one city, the other state-appointed; the police are governed by an appointed commissioner; the water supply and the main intercepting sewers are in the hands of a state-appointed commission; the city library and the city hospital are managed by appointed boards of trustees; and the fire department is controlled by a single commissioner appointed for that one function. This means, of course, that a large amount of municipal business has been withdrawn from the mayor, aldermen, and council, and placed in the hands of small bodies organized each for a special part of the city's work.

Another method lately come into successful use is to replace the mayor, aldermen and council by a single body whose functions are wholly administrative. Thus the city of Galveston procured from the legislature of Texas, after the tidal-wave catastrophe which almost destroyed the place, a wholly new city charter which gave all city powers to a

body of five men, of whom three were originally appointed and two elected, but all of whom are now elected by the people. Each of these five men has a large department of the city work to superintend, and together they employ the needed experts and conduct the city's business on business principles. This venture of the city of Galveston, entered upon under desperate circumstances, has been so successful that it has been copied in several other Texan cities, always with good results. Moreover, much older and larger cities than Galveston have adopted that method for parts of the city administration. Thus the public schools have, in several American cities, been placed in the hands of small boards which themselves do no executive work, but only direct and organize the experts they employ. A good example of this method of accomplishing honestly and efficiently municipal work has been set by Congress in appointing a small commission to carry on the whole municipal business of the city of Washington, including the assessing of taxes and the spending of all the money so collected. To be sure, the case of Washington is unique, because it is neither a manufacturing nor a commercial city, and the motives which attract to it a considerable population are peculiar. The number of members of such a municipal board would naturally vary with the size of the city; but it never ought to exceed seven. The ancient title of mayor might be kept in use by giving it to the chairman of the board.

These modes of procuring an honest and efficient transaction of municipal business, or of portions thereof, resemble the ordinary mode of conducting

great industrial, financial, and transportation companies, and they also recall the original New England town government. They have, however, been resorted to perforce, and not by the desire of the people.

It has often been alleged that effective commissions of this sort are undemocratic, that they escape from control of the people, and become arbitrary and inconsiderate in their methods and manners. This objection requires some examination. In the first place, every commission, every small school committee, and every complete city government, like that of Galveston, acts under a state statute or charter which defines its duties and powers. It therefore proceeds from the people. It ordinarily has a reasonably long term of office, or its members are but slowly replaced year after year. Because this is its nature, it can be disinterested, prudent, fore-looking, and wise through experience. All city business, like all corporation business, needs a management which is thus continuous, and so may reasonably be expected to exercise foresight and good judgment in discerning and meeting the needs of the future. It is impossible to do city business well through bodies replaced every year by an annual election; if it were ever possible, it has ceased to be so, and the chances are that it was never possible. The commission or small central board charged with a part or the whole of the city's business ought to be elected by the people, unless the existing political conditions make it more prudent to have it appointed by an authority outside the city, as was the case with the Boston commissions and partly

the case at Galveston. In the successive elections of a member or members of such commissions, the people have an annual opportunity of expressing their content or discontent with the management of the commissions; but, as has already been said, there are other available means of procuring direct expressions of the will of the people on explicit proposals when such expressions are needed, namely, the two processes called the initiative and the referendum. Two other indirect modes of bringing the opinions and wishes of the people to bear upon such commissions are already in active use; one is furnished by the daily and weekly press, the other is the method of public hearing. The latter, because completely public, is the more effective of the two. The annual reports of commissions, the public press, and the hearing, together give a large amount of publicity to the operations of such commissions, and this publicity will secure to the people an adequate control over their operations.

Democracy, like autocracy, needs to keep account of the rapidly changing conditions of human society. What might have been undemocratic a century ago may easily be safely democratic now. Democracy also needs to use in its governmental business the scrap-heap which is so important to the sound management of industries. It should throw away the obsolete machinery with which it finds itself encumbered and build the new machinery which will do its work efficiently and honestly on the vaster scale of the present day.

No improvement in the form of American city government can remedy the existing abuses and

evils, unless the change of form be accompanied by the selection of a different sort of man to conduct the new government. What then are the reasons for thinking that suitable men could be obtained to administer municipal affairs discreetly and honorably, if government by commission or selectmen should be adopted? The right men for the new sort of administration would be experienced business men who had already been successful in their several occupations, and who therefore had a large stake in the moral and material welfare of the community over which they were chosen to preside. At present, almost all the men who serve as aldermen and councilmen in the American cities are of small capacity, and have never succeeded in any business or serious undertaking. Over and over again lists of the aldermen and councilmen of American cities have been published which show most of them have little or no property and no describable means of support. In short, they are not persons who have given evidence of capacity to administer successfully any large affairs.

SMALL BOARDS ATTRACT BETTER MEN

In the first place, the five men who would administer a city like Galveston would each have a considerable amount of power and direct responsibility, and the five united would have all the power. Each man's term of service would be at least five years long; so that he would have ample time to prove his quality and demonstrate his usefulness to the community. Each could look ahead and make long

plans, and in all probability see them carried out. The board, or commission, as a whole would feel that they had a trust to execute, and that the means of executing it were in their hands. Wherever this method has been applied, either to the whole or a part of the city's work, as a matter of fact a superior class of men has at once appeared in municipal administration. Thus the school committee of St. Louis was suddenly reduced to twelve men to whom were confided large powers and more public money than had ever been appropriated for school purposes in St. Louis. The result was that an admirable board was immediately chosen, and the high quality of this board has been maintained. In Galveston, as soon as the control of the city was placed by the new charter in the hands of five men, suitable men were found to do the work, although all the circumstances were adverse, the city being nearly bankrupt. In Boston, the quality of the various commissions and boards, among which the greater part of the city business has been parcelled out, has been good from the beginning, and still is, and the work of these commissions and boards is the best municipal work done in Massachusetts. Witness the far-seeing plans of the Metropolitan Water Board and of the Metropolitan Park Commission. So soon as the Boston School Committee was reduced from twenty-four to five, it was found possible to get five competent men to do the work; and immediately the new Committee commanded to a striking degree the confidence of teachers, parents, and the public at large. On this Committee of five

there were two Catholics, two Protestants, and one Jew.

If it be clearly understood that successful men of proved capacity are needed and wanted for the city's service, able men will be attracted to the service, just because the standard of the service is set high. There are always plenty of good candidates for offices with which go power, responsibility, and public consideration. To an office which requires for the proper discharge of its duties a high degree of intelligence and public spirit, public-spirited men, young and old, will aspire. Elderly men who have already succeeded in their business and become pecuniarily independent will take office because they find in public duties a new interest, and a new incentive to exertion. Younger men of high capacity will take office, because they believe that in public office they will have an opportunity to show to advantage what their quality is, and that this demonstration will be useful to them in other large affairs, either public or private. That aldermen and common councilmen have fallen into contempt is a grave misfortune; for that very fact makes it extremely difficult to recruit those bodies with desirable citizens, except indeed in an occasional and spasmodic way. Large school committees, which were until lately the rule in American cities, fell into disrepute because election to them came to be considered a first step for aspiring politicians. It will be quite impossible to re-constitute the boards of aldermen and the common councils with a more effective and respected class of citizens; because those boards have in many cases lost the

greater part of their powers, and with their powers they have lost the sense of responsibility and the consideration of the public. Whenever an office is aggrandized, the man of capacity who really fills the office will set a new standard of efficient work for the office; hence the economy of consolidations in financial, manufacturing, and transportation enterprises. The enlarging of units of organization is a world-wide tendency in all sorts of business; so that the changes here suggested in municipal government are only another group of instances in a stream of tendencies. Larger functions in fewer hands will command the services of better men—of men honest, efficient, and public-spirited.

1907

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM AND POPULAR GOVERNMENT

For ten years past the American people has been manifesting in many ways a determination to win back for the voters that direct control over public action of which representative government as administered by political bosses and machines controlling party organizations had robbed it. This determination of the people has found expression in much new legislation. It seized on the referendum as a means of preventing the frauds and robberies perpetrated by elected officials in the gift, sale, or lease, of valuable franchises to public utility corporations. It utilized the initiative as a means of supplementing the slow, ineffective action of state legislatures and municipal councils. It proposed the recall as a means of getting rid of dishonest or inefficient public officers who had been imposed on the people by powerful bosses and rings. The rapid spread of the commission form of government, invented at Galveston, has been due to the conviction on the part of the people of more than one hundred and fifty cities that under that form they could rid themselves of the corrupt bands of professional politicians, which had made municipal government in the United States a by-word for inefficiency and dishonesty. Again, the people seeking for deliverance from the rule of nominating

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conventions managed by party bosses and their henchmen, set up party primaries as a hopeful substitute for conventions; and as fast as they learn by trial that party primaries can be managed by the bosses and machines almost as easily as conventions and caucuses were, they prepare to face the adoption of other means of defense, such as open nominations, the preliminary election, and the short ballot.

Still another manifestation of the people's determination to resume the power they have lost through the perversion of their representative institutions is their insistence on the direct election of United States senators.

The strength, large scope, and firm persistence of this popular determination cannot be doubted; and yet it has never struck at the root of the complete evil it is trying to remedy. That root is the money which the political machines control through the spoils method of appointment to salaried places in the civil service of the United States, the states and the cities.

The civil service reform to which this League has been devoted for thirty years is important as a means of increasing the efficiency of the public service, through the methods of inquiry and testing which secure appointments for good capacity and character; but it is vastly more important as the essential means of wresting from the bosses and machines the power to nominate and elect public officers, of restoring this power to the people, and so of improving throughout the country the conditions of political activity and public life. Civil serv-

ice reform strikes at the root of the evil against which the American people has been struggling somewhat blindly—its loss of control over public affairs—by taking away the machines' means of subsistence. It is their grip on the vast total of the salaries paid to public officers appointed by the patronage method and on the personal services of such officers, which maintains the bosses, rings and machines. The patron expects the personal service and support of his appointees, and in the common estimation has a good claim on their time, and for party uses on the salaries he has procured for them. Officials who owe their places to a boss or a ring will always pay their debts in work for the party of the patron and for the patron himself and in contributions for campaign expenses. To do so is their personal interest.

Here is an immense fund of labor and money, much of which can be concealed, to be spent on accomplishing the purposes and prolonging the power of the senators, congressmen, governors, mayors, and state, county, or city elected representatives and officials who control all the appointments not made on the merit system. Every political machine subsists on its patronage, and every boss maintains his bossdom at the public expense by appropriating the time of public servants which the public is paying for, and parts of numerous salaries paid from the public treasury.

A patron is valuable in proportion to the length of his term of office, to his political prestige, and to his effectiveness in procuring and shrewdness in using opportunities to make appointments. A

United States senator is a more desirable patron than a member of the House of Representatives; a four-year governor or mayor than a two-year; a permanent county official than one elected for a year or two. The most effective bosses have been men who held no office, but built up a durable power by skilful use, year after year, of the great patronage fund of services and money, reinforced by the contributions of persons and corporations who wished to buy or buy off legislation, and found it better to deal with one efficient boss than with numerous corruptible individuals.

The way to destroy root and branch this abominable product of the Jacksonian spoils doctrine is to extend the merit system of appointment to all national, state, and city offices. By so doing, the whole country would not only obtain much better service in all public offices, but also purify all its political life, and restore to the people the control of the public business.

How much progress towards this consummation has been made during the thirty years life of this League? Encouraging progress in regard to the subordinate places with low salaries, very little in regard to the higher grades with salaries worth assessing for political purposes. In the national civil service about 230,000[1] places are in the competitive classified service, and the holders of these places are under no obligations to any patron and

[1] According to the last report of the United States Commission 227,657. This is exclusive, however, of about 25,000 navy yard mechanics and 6,500 laborers subject to competitive regulations, but not strictly speaking in the competitive classified service.

are prohibited from taking active part "in political management or political campaigns."

On the other hand, nearly all the superior offices, having good or high salaries, are still filled by the patronage method. With few exceptions, the incumbents are indebted for their places to some senator, congressman, party committee, or private referee, and feel it a duty to work for their patron on demand.

Over appointments to the higher salaried offices, which can only be filled "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," that body has control; but under the practice called, "the courtesy of the Senate" that control has passed to the individual senators of the dominant party. These higher offices cannot be classified under the civil service act of 1883 "unless by direction of the Senate."

The patronage power of senators and representatives is fully recognized by each successive administration—never more frankly than by the present—and accordingly postmasters of every grade (except fourth-class postmasters north of the Ohio and Potomac and east of the Mississippi), collectors of customs or internal revenue, United States district-attorneys, and marshals are all patronage appointees, owning and paying allegiance and service to the person or persons who procured their appointment. Many of these office-holders are able men skilled in political management and more industrious in such work than in their proper functions.

The average political appointee performs comparatively little service for the government. He was not appointed because of fitness and he rarely

makes himself fit. The work of his office is done by his subordinates, most of whom to-day belong to the competitive classified service. Except at Washington and a few other cities the spoils offices could be left vacant without any serious impairment of the service. Nothing could be more unbusinesslike and wasteful than the present mode of filling the higher places in the civil service; but the wastefulness of the spoils method is of little moment compared with its corrupting effect on the political life of the people.

The civil service of the states and cities is on the whole not so far advanced towards a sound merit system of appointment as that of the nation, although a few states have passed respectable laws, and a few cities have made strong efforts to secure a service free from political influences and selected for fitness only. The numerous cities which have adopted the commission form of government have frequently procured the insertion in the new charter of an article providing a merit system for the selection of the city's servants; but these provisions have not all been well designed to secure the end in view. Some of the civil service commissions established have not been independent themselves, others have been improperly constituted, and others still have been denied adequate appropriations. On the other hand, the State of New York and the city of Chicago have used the merit method of thorough inquiry and competitive examination with perfect success on candidates for well-paid positions as experts.

Under existing conditions office holders, national,

state, or municipal, control party organizations and committees on credentials and resolutions dominate conventions, cut and dry primary elections and take care in good season of the membership of legislatures. The federal office-holder's machine, particularly active in the Southern States, is organized in Washington, and more than once a Cabinet officer has been the real head of it. It may easily hold the balance of power in the National Convention of the party in office, and so control both the nominations and the declarations of policy. State and city conventions often exhibit like phenomena.

How can the people rid themselves of this intolerable obstruction to the free exercise of their honest will? Only by extending the merit system of appointment to the entire civil services of the country, and establishing the general rule that civil servants are not to take active part in party management or political campaigns. Presidents Hayes, Cleveland and Roosevelt all protested against the political activity of civil servants; but their declarations produced little effect, until in 1907 President Roosevelt issued an effective order prohibiting persons in the *competitive classified service* from taking part in political management or in political campaigns. The enforcement of this order was entrusted to the National Civil Service Commission, which had no difficulty in enforcing it. Indeed the order was welcome to the subordinate employees to whom it applied. The remedy for the great evil of boss, ring and machine management of politics is plainly indicated in the effect of President Roosevelt's order to the competitive classified service,

namely, make the whole civil service of the country, national, state, and municipal, a competitive classified service, and prohibit political activity to civil servants. When all the superior offices as well as the subordinate are filled with men appointed or promoted for merit, the country will get from its servants the whole time it pays for, the mind of each servant will be in his work, and not in party politics, the service of a patron, and the preservation of his own place, and then the greatest hindrance to good government in the United States will have been done away with.

This is the goal of the National Civil Service Reform League. The League has every reason to be of good courage in the prosecution of its patriotic labors. The merit system, incomplete as it is, has proved its value wherever it has been applied. The effective order against political activity has proved to be welcome to 230,000 persons in the classified service of the United States. The President of the United States in his message to Congress last year practically recommended that the entire civil service of the national government, including the offices now filled with the advice and consent of the Senate, be placed on the merit system of appointment, with the exception only of "officers responsible for the policy of administration and their immediate personal assistants or deputies."

Until these recommendations are adopted civil service reform cannot demonstrate its full advantages. The best kind of young men will not enter a service, except for some temporary object, or will not remain in it, if they can have no access to its

higher places. The civil service, national, state, and municipal, ought to offer a highly satisfactory career to energetic, ambitious, and patriotic young men. It has not for two generations.

The work which lies before the League will be even more beneficent than that it has already done, for it will be concerned with the higher branches of the service. From the beginning it has been a work of public instruction in political morality and in the business-like conduct of public administration. It is that to-day; but it also teaches with new urgency that the moral success of republican institutions requires the complete eradication from all the public services of the spoils or patronage system of appointment and promotion.

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